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ANTIQUITY AND EVOLUTION OF ART IN INDIA.

BY

C. SIVARAMAMRTJI, B.A. (HONS.),

Madras.

(Continued from page 314, Vol. VIII, Pt. iv.)

In the Upamitibhāvaprapāñcakathā prince Nandivardhana is reported to have learnt a number of arts.

तातेनाभिहितम् । कि परिणताः कथिननिद्वर्धनकुमारस्य कलाः ?
कलाचार्येणाभिहितम् । सुष्ठु परिणताः । देव ! निष्पत्र एव कलासु
नन्दिवर्धनकुमारः । तथा हि—स्वीकृतमनेन समस्तं लिपिज्ञानम् ।
..... अनुचरणीय नरलक्षणादीनि अधियविक्रियाणि पत्रच्छेदादीनि ।

(The last mentioned and Naralakṣaṇajñāna are closely connected with citra.) Painters were also engaged to prepare the portraits of princes and princesses of marriageable age to be sent round to various kingdoms. This activity of artists is frequently mentioned in literature. In the Kathāsaritsāgara we have many instances of such pictures being brought and one example may be cited.

हृदि गतायास्तस्याथ स पिता सदृशं वरम् ।

प्रेष्टुरानाययत् पृथ्वी पटेत् लिखितम् त्रृपान् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb. XII, Tarāṅga xiii, Sl. 14.

In the Tilakamañjari Meghavāhana is described as spending his time in looking at pictures of suitable princesses brought for his inspection.

कदाचिदङ्गनालोऽहि निषुणचित्रकर्त्त्वित्रपटेषारोप्य सादरमुपायनी-
कृतानि रसातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिविम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा-
दिवसमलोकयत् । T. M., p. 15.

There also appear to have been special capable women called Silpinis preparing and carrying pictures to lovers as given by Pandarivihvala

तत्तद्रूपगतं भावं पटे रूपं प्रदर्श्य च ।

विजानालुभ्योः ग्रीति चतुरा शिल्पिनी यथा ॥

Dūtikarmaprakāśa, p. 26.

In all such cases the pictures were real portraits having Sādr̄syā (likeness to the original) as described in the Kathāsaritsāgara.

तदृष्टा गन्तिणस्तस्य जगदुत्तर्त तपस्विनीम् ।
 आये सुन्दरसेनं त्वं देवमन्त्र पठे लिख ॥
 सद्यालेष्यविज्ञानं तावद्वैक्षामहे तव ।
 तच्छूर्वेष लिङ्गद्वैतं कुमारं सा क्षणात् पदे ॥
 तं चातिसदृशं दृष्टा सर्वेऽप्यत्रैवमनुवन् ।
 नास्यालेष्यविसंबादो भगवत्पा मनागेति ॥
 अयं कुमार एवेति चित्रेऽस्मिन्नायते हि धीः ।
 तन्मन्दारकर्तादेवीरूपं नात्र विसंवदेत् ॥

K. S. S., Lamb XII, Tarāṅga xxxiv, Sl. 79, 82.

These are very well known as Viddhacitras in the Silpa texts and mentioned in the Tilakamāñjari many times specifically by that name.

अतोऽस्याः सकलनिजपारिवारवाराङ्गनाचित्रकौशलदर्शनव्याजेन दर्शय
 निसर्गसुन्दराङ्गतानामवनिगोचरनरेन्द्रदारकाणां यथास्वपद्वितानि नामनियथाधस्थि-
 तानि विद्वरुपाणि । T. M., p. 138.

दीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरनुदिवसमपहार्यमाणचित्रफलकारोपितविद्वरुपः ।

T. M., p. 133.

तत्र च लदुपलम्माशया दिङ्गुखल्यातरुपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्व-
 रुपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रफल्लिष्येषनीतान्यजग्नमवलोकयतःमे गताः
 कृतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः । T. M., p. 263.

कदाचिदन्तिकान्यस्तविविष्वर्तिकासमुद्ग्रा प्रगुणीहस्य परेचारिकाभिः
 पुरोऽवस्थापिते पृथुनि चित्रफलेक निपुणमालोध्यालोभ्य मकरकेतुवाणनातविद्वा
 देवस्पैव रुपविद्वमिलिखन्ती । T. M., p. 319.

The name Viddhasālabhañjikā similarly means 'Portrait Statuette.' That these pictures were done from life is gathered from the description of the prauḍhā drawing from life in the Pādatāḍitaka.

कृथमिद्यमातिकाकन्दुककोडया मध्यमायासुख्यल्पमेषां प्रियेणोपविद्वा सहायैः
 परिक्रीडति ग्रीडया चैनयैतस्त्वयं लिङ्गयते चित्रमास्यायिकासौ पुनर्बाधते । p. 3.
 In the Kathāsaritsāgara it is given that a particular figure is carved on the model of the features of a certain princess noted for her beauty whom the artist had seen and noted.

एतच्छ्रुता स वेतालोऽवादीनैतद्दुरासदम् ।

कलिङ्गसेना नामास्ति कलिङ्गाधिपतेः सुता ॥

तां दृष्ट्वा रूपकरेण लट्टपञ्चेषुना ।

वर्षमानपुरीयेण कृतेयं सालभाषिका ॥

K. S. S., Lamb, XVIII, Taranga iv, Sl. 139-14.

When art was so popular and served such a useful purpose it is no wonder that even womenfolk specialised in it. In fact they so much excelled in beautiful line drawing that we have it given in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā* that a woman alone could do exquisite line work.

इदं च पीरन्प्रमैषि कर्म रेखानिवेशोऽत्र यदेकवारः ॥ Act. I.

Leisure hours of ladies of gentle birth were spent in the drawing and painting of their lords when they were away from home on journey or on business. This might have been to amuse themselves in the absence of their husbands or for gazing longer and more freely at the faces of their spouses in picture which they could not do in actual life because of the laws of modesty. The *Rukminiharanya-Thānūrga* shows this useful purpose of pictures in the lines—

(ततः प्रविशति कुण्डालेह्यव्यप्रहस्ता रुक्मिणी मकरन्दिका च)

रुक्मिणी—नूनं मया जन्मान्तरे चन्द्रशेखरस्य प्रतिबिम्बमेवाराघिरं यदेतस्य सुगमगस्प्यालेह्यमात्रैव मां हतविधिविर्प्रतारयति ।तदेतदेवालेह्य-नवितृणं विमाक्ष्यामि । (Act. III, In *Rūpakaśatka* of *Vatsarāja*.) which seem to echoe the speech of Mālavikā in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*—

सखि ! तदा संसंभासमुल्कपिठताहं भर्तु रूपदर्शनेन तथा न विवृण्णास्मि यथाश विभावितक्षित्रगतदर्शनो भर्ता । Act. IV.

We have instances of ladies painting their lovers in the *Neminirvāṇa*, the *Harivilāsa*, the *Śringāradhanadakāvya* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

अनुरागमायतदशः कुरुतेरं

त्वयि न प्रियंबदतया वदामि तम् ।

लिखितत्वदाकृतिरनेकहास्तया

रतिवासमितिरपि तेऽभिष्ठास्यति ॥

Neminirvāṇa, IX, 50.

रहसि विलिखितस्य ग्राणनाथस्य चित्रे
दृढतरपरिम्भारम्भरङ्गकमूर्मि: ।

चलितचपलचक्षुर्बीक्ष्य बक्षं सखीनां

सिक्षितस्मुखमुखश्चीर्लेजते यत्र योषा ॥ Harivilāsa, V, 12.

आलोके ते निपतति उरा सा दलिल्याकुला वा

मत्सादृशं विरहततु वा मावगम्य लिखन्ती । Megha, II, Sl. 18.

आकर्णाच्छितधन्वनः करिवरव्यापादनायोथतान्

विन्ध्यालेह्यमहाठवीषु मृगयोत्साहे सखीनां पतीन् ।

कोदण्डाश्वलबद्धनिर्मदशिलिप्रस्फारपिच्छव्यजं

प्रातं रवं पतिमालिलेख सुदती गर्वाज्ञहासोचकैः ॥

Sṛngāradhanadaśataka, Sl. 40.

The proficiency of ordinary housewives in painting and other arts was thus very great; in fact it was so great that it was only eclipsed by the cleverness and high artistic skill of the professional adepts in art like the Cīrācāryas and other painters and the prostitutes that specialised in all the fine arts—music, dance, painting etc. Of the impetus given to a cultivation of fine arts in the case of Veṣyāṅganās the most eloquent authoritative evidence is in the line of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya

गीतवाद्यपाद्यनुत्तनाव्याक्षरचित्रबीणावेणुमुदङ्गपरचित्तज्ञानगन्धमाल्यसुं-
यूहनसम्पादनसंवाहनशीशाकलाङ्गानानि गणिका दासीरङ्गोपजीविनीक्ष ग्राहयते
राजमण्डलादाजीवं कुर्यात् । Vol. I, T. S. S., Chap. II, Adh. 17, Pra-
karana 44, p. 305.

The verse in the Sṛngāratilaka of Rudrabhaṭṭa

सर्वं सन्ति गृहे गृहे सुकवयो येषां बचक्षातुरी
स्वे हम्ये कुलकन्यकेष उमते जातिर्गुणौरवन् ।

दुधापः स तु कोऽपि कोविदपर्तिर्द्वाप्रसग्राहिणां
पण्यत्वीव कलाकलापकुदाळा चेतासि हतुं क्षमा ॥ SL 7.

shows us that the harlots were adepts in all the fine arts. The fine artistic sense of the Veṣyāṅganās is seen in the description of the beautiful floor decorations in the *hetāra's* house given in the Pādatāḍitaka.

....लित्तिलिखितमूरुमस्थूलविकल्पशतनिवद्वानि बन्धसन्धिद्वारगवाक्षवितर्दि-
संजवनवीयीनिर्वृहकानि, चित्रशालालंकृतानि ... भवनवरावर्तसकानि
बारमुख्यानाम् । p. 12.

In the Dhūrlavīṭasānivāda we are told that colours are being prepared (ground) for painting.

आद्वायप्रामाणशिलिपनानि संधान्तप्रेष्यवर्णलितपुष्टोपहाराणि स्पर्धन्त
इवान्योन्यं भवनद्वाराणि ।.....पीनस्तनलटविसर्पिणः पिष्यन्ते वर्णकाः । p. 8.
(These colours were obviously used for floral decorations on breasts of women in the place of Kastūri etc.)

The Mṛcchakaṭīka gives us a vivid picture of the artistic taste of Veṣyāṅganāś. Vasantāsenā knows the art of painting. The Viṭas and Ceṭis carry pictures of various persons whom they desire to bring together in the helaca's house. The courtesans showed peculiar fondness to artists and Cīrācāryas and we have an instance of this sort of love in the Pādatāḍitaka where Kusumāvatikā loves the painting master Śivasvāmin.

जानीत एवास्मात्वामी—‘यथास्त्वंस्वया कुमुखतिकायाः प्रियवयस्यं
चित्राचार्यं गिवस्वामिनं प्रति महान् मदनोऽमादः’—इति । p. 25.

Kṣemendra echoes this in his verse in the Kalāvilāsa—

नोचस्तुरगरोहो हस्तिपकः खड्गतरोऽयत्रा शिल्पी ।

वश्चित्सकलजनानां तासामपि बहुमो भवति ॥ IV. Sl. 14.

Paintings were done generally on phalaka, paṭa or bhitti. The last mentioned was the most popular. In a passage from the Śringāraprakāśa it is given that pictures were drawn on banners as well.

अस्यां दृष्टि वासुदेवः क्रियताम्, अस्यां भित्तौ कामदेवो लिख्यताम्,
अत्र च जे हनूमान् वन्धताम् । Vol. I, p. 394. Madras MSS.

The Yaśastilakacampū mentions similar pictures (on banners)

अतिसविधसंचरत्सुरसुन्दरीकरचालविद्वस्तेतुकाण्डचित्रैः । Vol. I, p. 18.

According to Mr. P. Brown and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy we have lots of these pictures on banners and flags lingering even today in Nepal, Tibet and other places. Even in India proper the dhvajastambhas in Hindu temples containing sculptured representations of the vāhanas of the deities are concrete represent-

ations of these banner pictures. There are also, apart from the dhvajacitras, pictures on the Toranapatas and flags carried about in Hindu temple processions.

Of the themes of paintings we have it given in the Silparatna that anything can be chosen as a subject. Thus the scope is very wide. Representations from contemporary life, landscapes, portraits and mythological incidents were amongst the pictures painted. Of these special mention should be made of two—the Kāmadevapāta and the Yamapāta. The former was a very popular one with women and lovers especially and was kept in almost every house and also in royal palaces. The latter was a big canvas showing the horrors of Hell taken through the streets by the Yamapāttika (picture show-man) who earned a living by exhibiting it to crowds of eager naughty children who generally surrounded and hounded him wherever he went. Mention of the picture of Cupid is profuse in Sanskrit literature. We have it spoken of in the Kādambarī, in the Pradyumnañāhyudaya, the Gāthāsaptaśati and in the Ratnavali.

बासमवने मे शिरोभागनिहितः कामदेवपटः पाठनीयः । KA., p. 536.

प्रभावती—सखि ! कस्य नाम महाभागस्य प्रतिक्रिम्बं भवेत् ?

कलहंसिका—एतद्वगवतो मदनस्य नूरं प्रतिक्रिम्बं भवेत् ।

प्रभावती—सखि ! साधु निरूपितम् । रत्निसहचर एव देवः कुसुमायुध आलेख्येषु लक्ष्मते ।

कलहंसिका—एवमेतत् । अस्य रूपातिशयस्यान्यत्रासुभावनया सैवं भणितम् । Pradyumnañāhyudaya, I.

सणिङ्गं सणिङ्गं छलिभकुलीभं मअणवडलाअणमिसेण ।

बन्धेह धवलवणवहं व बणिआहरे तरुणी ॥

[शनकैः शनकैर्लिताकुल्या मदनपटलापनमिषेण ।

बधाति धवलवणपटमिव बणिताधरे तरुणी ॥]

Gāthāsaptaśati, V, St. 58.

सागरिका—एतदप्यस्ति मे प्रश्निं कौतङ्गलम् । कि यथा तातस्य युरे भगवाननङ्गोऽच्यते इहापि तथैति कि वाच्ययेति । Ratnāvalī Act 1.

The lines of the Harṣacarita—

भीषणमहिषाखिरुद्ग्रेतनाथसनाथे चित्रवति पटे परलोकन्यतिकरमितरकरकालितेन
शरकालेन कथयन्तं यमपटिकं ददर्श । p. 153.

and the passage in the Mudrārākṣasa

(ततः प्रविशति यमपटेन चरः ।)

चरः—

पणमह जमस्स चलणे कि कलं देवएहि अणेहि ।

एसो छु अणमत्ताण हरइ जींज जडपडन्तम् ॥

अवि अ—

पुरिस्तस जीविदन्वं विसमाहो होइ भत्तिगहिआदो ।

मारेह सञ्चलोअं जो तेण जमेण जीआमो ॥

बाब एवं गेहूं पविसिअ जमपडं दंसञ्चतो गीआहं गाजामि । Act I.

are among many that give us some account of the Yamapāṭa.

The details of the methods of picture production are also learnt by us through the numerous references to them in literature. Though they have been dealt with by me in detail under various other heads I shall just indicate here the outline of the working process through some typical references. First the Varnaka or cartoon is prepared to be transferred to the regular canvas. The canvas, colours and brushes being ready, the preliminary drawing is sketched with the vartikā. In this case the sūtrapāṭa is all important since that preliminary rough marking decides the positions, poses and the formations of the figures that compose the picture. Then comes the colouring and the shading (vartanā) that gives the effect of modelling or relief to the figures. The final work is the unnilana or the revivification of the figure, by opening its eyes (working of pupils etc.), which had lain lifeless so to say all the time for all practical purposes. The reference to the Varnaka in the verse of the Āryasaptasati—

कल्ता निन्दति छुम्पति कः स्मरफलकस्य वर्णकं मुखः ।

को मवति रजकाटकमसृते कर्त्त्यारुचिरुदेति ॥ Sl. 189.

is one of the many such found in literature. Similarly we have the Sūtrapāṭa process given in the Rājataranginī of Kalhaṇa, Suvṛttatilaka of Kṣemendra, Śringāradhanasādakāvya and the Kārṇasundari.

अव्यक्तव्याहृती चित्रसूत्रिताविव तौ स्थिती ।

बीह्यारिकटके लक्ष्मी पृष्ठाद्विस्थायमीयदुः ॥

Rājatarangnī, VIII, 2587.

द्वितीयाखे समस्तपरा यथा गन्दितकर्त्य—

करतरलितवन्धं कञ्चुकं कुर्वतीनां

प्रतिफलितसिद्धानीं दैपमातामर्मर्चिः ।

स्तनतटपरिणाहे भासिनीनां मविष्य-

जखपदलिपिलासूत्रपाते करोति ॥

Suvr̄ittatilaka, Sl. 41.

मत्ता चित्रविशेषलेखनविधावादिष्टपूर्वा चिरं

विष्णोर्जागरणोत्सवाय सुदती रेखामधादग्रतः ।

कैलासाचलगामिनानसपरः स्वच्छं लिखेत्यहुता

क्रीडाशीलसरकार विकासज्ञाम्बूनदाम्भोरुहम् ॥

Śringāradhanadaśataka, Sl. 46.

राजा—धातुस्तम्भुवर्तनाफलहकः श्यामाश्वृवृष्टम्-

स्तलेखोचतदलिकाप्रगलितारताराः सुवायिप्रुषः ।

तद्वावण्डसस्य शेषममला सा शारदी कौमुदी

तद्भूनिर्मितिमानसूत्रमपि तज्जापं मनोजनमनः ॥

Karnasundari, Act I, Sl.

In the last quoted verse we have vartanā also given. The Gāthā-saptaśati tells us of the evanescent nature of the Vartikārekha preliminary sketch drawn with the vartikā (pencil).

अनुरूपनायकालाभेन निर्विण्णा कापि सोपालम्भं विधिमाह—

जं जं आलिहृ य मणो वासावद्वीहि हिअशफलअभिः ।

तं तं बालो व्व विही णिहुञ्चं हसिकण पम्हुसइ ॥ VIII, 56.

[यथदालिखति मन आशावर्तिकाभिर्ददयफलके ।

तत्तद्वाल इव विविर्निमृतं हसिता प्रोऽच्छति ॥]

The process of vartanā is not so easily understood since the use of the word 'Vartanā' is itself ambiguous in literature. The Vartanā that the Viṣṇudharmottara speaks of is obviously shading. But in literature the word is used as meaning 'application' of colour. In the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, in the Karpūramanijari and in the Udayasundarikathā we have the word used in this sense.

यशः कूर्चिक्षया चित्रं दिग्भक्षिषु निविष्ट्या ।

द्रविदीगण्डकलके तेनावर्त्यत पाण्डिमा ॥

Vikramāñikadevacarita, IV, Sl. 22.

कथि कहु बिण्डिआओ पट्ट बहेहि

(कापि खहु बिण्डिका: पटे वर्तयति) Karpūraramāñjari, p. 6.

लया हि बहुशाखित्रेण वर्तिता दृष्टाश्च त्रिमुखनविवरवर्तिनो युवानः ।

Udayasundarikathā, p. 100.

The meaning of the word in the verses of Ratnākara

भृक्षणत्वं विरलविलेपनश्रियस्ता विनश्यो हविस्तराङ्गवर्तनाभिः ॥

सदूया: सल्लितनाथ्यचित्रमिसीरालोक्यामिमतजनः पुषोप तोषम् ॥

विचित्रत्यानकोपेताः सुकुमाराङ्गवर्तनाः ।

नृते चित्रे च दधतीमक्षिसहृदयाः खियः ॥

Haravijaya, XXII, 96; XXXIII, 3.

is again ambiguous; but here it might be taken to mean shading also. Of the importance of *rekhā* in the picture, and in India a perfect outline is the forte of the artist, there is a lot spoken. Ratnākara holds that good line work, a most difficult task, is a rarity.

कल्याणी गिरमुखस्तु विरला एव जानते ।

सत्यां रेखां विलिखिषु चित्रकर्मिवेदो यथा ॥

Haravijaya, XXXII, 70.

Vāmana speaks of the *rekhā* as almost everything in a picture.

एतासु तिसुषु रीतिषु रेखाखित्र चित्रं काव्यं प्रतिष्ठितमिति ।

Kāvyāñikārasātravṛtti, I, ii. 13.

But, perfect modelling was also attempted in the pictures. Passages like स्वल्पर्तीव मे दृष्टिनिमोजतप्रदेशपु in the Śākuntala Act VI राजनीहि-रिव यथोचितमयस्थापितवर्णसुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशितव्यकनिमोजतविमागा.... चकवर्तीकन्यका in the Tilakamañjari, p. 135, and निमोजतप्रदेशप्रकाशन-शिखियनि यौवने ला कपसंरबेदीयसी तुदशाली in the Yaśastilakacampū (Vol. II, p. 312) all show a high sense of modelling possessed by our artistic ancestors. Vargasthitī or the proper arrangement of colour in particular appropriate combinations in particular places in a picture has also been stressed in the verse of Sri Harṣa

स्थितिशालिसमस्तवर्णता न कथं चित्रमयी विभृत् या ।
स्वरनेदमुपैतु या कथं कलितानल्पमुखारका न या ॥

Naiṣadha, II, 98.

and the gāthā of Śālavāhana

अविच्छिन्नप्रियालिङ्गनामिकाशमात्मनः प्रकाशयन्ती काष्ठ्यन्यापदेशेन
चलुममाद्—

वण्णकमरहिंशस्त वि एस गुणो जवरि चित्रकमस्त ।

गिमिसं पि जं ण मुञ्चइ पिओ जणो गाढमुवउडो ॥

[वर्णकमरहितस्यापेष गुणः केवलं चित्रकर्मणः ।

निमिषमपि यज मुञ्चति प्रियो जनो गाढमुपगृहः ॥]

Gathāsaptashati, VII, 12.

The unmilana process is best explained in the verse of Ratnākara
यस्यामियाति भवनेष्वसमाहचित्रसंभारनिचिपुरुषा मलिनीभवन्तः ।

उन्मीलनावसरशून्यदद्याः समिद्धो दध्युदिवानिशमिष श्रियमव्यवस्थान् ॥

Haravijaya, XVI, 65.

U unmilana is given by Ratnākara in another verse also

सभूमिलामै शुभवतिरेख्या मनोरमे मण्डलकार्यमस्त्वलद् ।

अशेषमुन्नीलपति क्षमामृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितुलिका ॥

Ibid. XII, 30.

wherein we also get the spelling of Bhūlambā (arrangement of background) of the Viśvudharmottara given as Bhūlābha. It is from the same poet that we get at the importance of Sthānakā in a picture which connects citra closely with Nāṭya.

विचित्ररूपानकोपेताः सुकुमारङ्गवर्तीनाः ।

नृत्ये चित्रे च दधतीरक्षितद्वयाः शिष्यः ॥ XXXII, 3.

Practice is all important in producing a good picture and we have exhortations for artists to work hard and gain a perfect mastery over the brush or chisel as the case may be. The verse of the Dharmasarmabhyudaya

निर्माणं निर्माणं पुरीः सुराणां वच्छिक्षितं शिल्पकलाद्व दाक्ष्यम् ।

तस्मैव धात्रा विहितात्ति तत्र प्रकर्षसीमा नगरी सुसीमा ॥ IV, 13.

and of the Vikramāñikadevacarita

निष्ठान्यासात् परिणतलिपेः क्षमूराङ्गर्यलेखं

तद्वाचष्टं वपुषि ललिते तस्य भूपालसूनोः ।

यत्र स्तुर्जलूषवलङ्गनादोकलोमैकपले

जागति ख्यानिनदमुखरः संततं पुण्यचापः || XVIII, 69.

are all in this strain. The best artists with an excellent practice could produce works of art that were eyed with wonder even by art critics and connoisseurs. Expression of emotion in picture and such other difficult problems engaged the painter. The Upamitibhavaprapācikāthā says that representation of emotions in picture is most difficult.

अत्र 'सुविशुद्धा रेखा, संगतानि भूपणानि, उचितकमा वर्णात्रिच्छितिः, परिस्फुटो भावातिशयः'—इति । दृष्ट्वा च चित्रे मायारावनम्, लदेव चाभिमतमतिविदग्धानाम् । p. 86.

Pictures were drawn with such care and exactitude that they were suggestive of many things. Just as in the Viśuddhaśālabhaśājikā we have the picture of the princess suggesting to the king that it was the portrait of an unmarried girl from the arrangement of the figure, its dress and so on we have a picture described in the Daśakumāracarita wherein the clever painter suggests a lot about the painted lady.

स चेकदा कर्त्त्वचिदागन्तो खित्रकरस्य हस्ते चित्रपटं ददर्श । तत्र काचिदलेष्यगता मुवलिरालोकमात्रैव कलहकण्ठकस्य कामातुरं चेतक्षकार । स च तमन्तरीद—‘मद्र ! विरुद्धमिवेतत् ग्रन्तिमाति ; यतः कुलबादुर्लभं वपुः, अभिजाल्पशसिनी च नम्रता, पाण्डरा च मुखच्छविः, अनतिपरिसुक्तमुभग्ना च तनुः, ग्रीवतानुविद्धा च दृष्टिः । न चैपा प्रोपितमर्तुका प्रवासचिह्नस्यैक-
वेष्यादेरदर्शनात् । लक्ष्म चैतदश्चिणपार्श्वदर्ति । तदियं वृद्धस्य कर्त्त्वचिदृणिजो नातिपुंरुत्स्य यथार्हसंमोगालाभपीडिता गृहिणी त्वयातिकीशलाबधादृष्टमालिखिता मवितुर्महीति’—इति । स तमाभिप्रशस्यादांसत्—‘सख्यमिदम् । अवन्तिपुर्यामुजयि-
न्यामनन्तर्वार्तानिनान्नः सर्ववाहस्य भाव्या यथार्थनामा नितम्बवती नामैपा सौन्दर्यविस्मितेन मर्यैवमालिखिता’—इति ।

Uttarapīṭhikā, Ucchvāsa, VI, p. 167, Kale's edition.

Another feature in a picture very much admired and sought to be retained permanently by painters in the painting is *anjjvalya*. Kālidāsa speaks highly of ‘pratyagravarparāga’. The Yaśastilaka-campū gives that pictures rubbed after being drawn lose their lustre—

आलिह्य परामृष्टं चित्रमिव गलितच्छावन् । Vol. II, p. 146.

but there also appear to have been pictures drawn in better colours with a greater permanency of lustre that increased when rubbed but was never lost as given in the Prajñāyaugandharāyana.

विदुषकः—...अविद्या आलिखिते खलु मम मोदकमल्लकं संतापतिमिरेण सुषुप्तु न प्रेष्ठे । भवतु प्रमार्जिष्यामि तावदहम् । ही ही ! साधु रे ! चित्रकर ! माव ! साधु ! सुक्कलेखतया वर्णनां यथा प्रमार्जिम लघा तथेऽन्वलतरं भवति । भवतु उदकेन प्रमार्जिष्यामि । कुत्र खद्ददकम् । इदं शोभनं शुद्धतदाकम् । अहमिव शिवोऽपि तावत् एतस्मिन् मोदकमल्लके निराशो भवतु । Act II.

Even these pictures could be destroyed by an application of water—since all these were painted in tempera. Vāmana lays very great stress on *anujvalaya* and holds that *Purāṇapucchayā* in pictures is a distinct blot.

बन्धस्योऽन्वलतं नाम यदसौ कान्तिरिते । यदमावे पुराणच्छावेत्युच्यते ।

औज्जवलं कान्तिरित्यादुर्मिणं गुणविशासदाः ।

पुराणचित्रस्थानीयं तेन बन्धं कर्वेच्च ॥

Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti, III, i, 25.

We have also some descriptions in literature of faded pictures on broken walls with the layers crumbling and falling off every moment and cobwebs surrounding them as also of neglected and broken statuettes, etc. The description of deserted Ayodhyā in the Raghuvamīśa from which a few lines can be quoted—

चित्रद्विषाः पश्चवनावतीर्णः करेणुभिर्दत्तमृणालमङ्गः ।

नखाद्यकुशाशातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरक्षसिद्धप्रदृढं वहन्ति ॥

स्तम्भेषु योषिद्यातियातानामुक्तान्तवर्णकमधूसराणाम् ।

स्तनोत्तरीयाणि भवन्ति सङ्गानिमैकपदाः फौणिभिर्मुकाः ॥

Raghuvamīśa, VII, 16-17.

and of the wasted city of the ogress Tātakā in the Jānakīharana contained in the lines

फौणिभिः प्रतिविम्बमातरः दिनिभिर्मन्ति शिरोऽबलग्निभिः ।

रचितीरिच वेणिवन्धनैर्विरहादस्य पुरस्य शासिदुः ॥

प्रतिमा विशदेन द्वितिकापटेनाद्वृतदृष्टिरीक्ष्यते ।

रुदितैरिच पुण्यितेष्ठणा विपुलत्रासकृतैरनेकराः ॥

श्लगमिति विरुद्धभूरुदस्थिरस्त्वागविनिर्मिष्टतम् ।

स्फुटतीव भृशे हुचातुरं हदयं यदृगृहचित्रयोपिताग् ॥

नकुलः परिजीर्णवेकुधप्रात्तविम्बाननमध्यरन्ध्रतः ।

परिकर्पश्चति क्रुञ्चा यथा स्फुरते तद्रसनं सरीसुपम् ॥ 1V, 54,56 to 58.
are splendid examples.

In spite of exhortations addressed to people to learn the various arts at least as hobbies which would help in some emergency—as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas in Virāṭnagara—embodied in verses like the one of Kṣemendra—

आपत्कालोपयुक्तासु कठासु स्पाद् कृतश्चमः ।

तृत्तचृत्तविराटस्य किरीटी मवेऽभवत् ॥ Cittucaryā, 72.

we have a number of people ignorant of art and art appreciation. A graphic picture of the way hunters—perfect boors in art appreciation—appreciate paintings is found in the humorous verse of the Śringāralilaka of Rudrabhāṣṭi:

व्यक्ता गुञ्चकलानि मौकिकमयी भूषा स्त्रानेष्वाहिता

जीणां कष्टमिदं कृतं सरसिङं कर्णे त बहिञ्छदम् ।

इत्थं नाथ तजारेवाच्चि शब्दरालोक्य चित्रस्थिति

वाष्पाद्रीकृतलोचनैः स्फुरत्वं दारैः समं हस्यते ॥ p. 145. (K. M.)

As a contrast to these there are the excellent art critics well versed in the science or theory of art and in the practice of it. A study of the Citrasūtra was compulsory in the case of all art students as we see from the verse of the Kuttinimata,

मरतविशाखिलदन्तिलव्यापुवेदवित्रस्त्रेषु ।

पत्रच्छेदविधाने अमकर्मणि पुस्तमूदशालेषु ॥

आतोव्यादनविद्यौ नृते गीते च कौशलं तस्याः ॥ 124-5.

This Citrasūtra might be the same as the Citrasūtra in the Viśnudharmottara. The conception of Tvaṣṭā, that we saw in the Vedas, was ever fresh in the minds of the Śilpis and he was taken as the model for all to copy as seen in the line of the Yaśastilakacampū यश्टिलकरिष्व वित्रकर्मसु (Vol. I, p. 237). Though no book on art written by Tvaṣṭā is available, books by Maya and Viśvakarṇī are amongst the popular books on art and architecture. The Yaśastilaka quotes from a book on art by Prajāpati—

प्रवापतिप्रोक्ते च विक्रकर्मणि—

श्रमणं तैलालिसाङ्गं नवमिभिर्विरुद्धम् ।

यो लिखेत् स लिखेत् सर्वं पृथ्वीमपि ससागराद् ॥ Vol. II, p. 112.

but unfortunately like many other books that are lost to us this book lingers in its mere name. The great passion for art was such in the case of the excellent art critics who drank deep at the fountain of art knowledge that we have instances as in the case of Cārudatta where admiration is expressed even for an artistic hole created in the wall by a burglar.

Apart from citras on bhūtis, phalakas, patas etc. we have had the Bhaumika-citras of a momentary nature drawn everyday with colour powders on the floors, etc. These Kṣanika-citras have been dealt with in detail in the Nārada Śilpa. In the Upamitibhavaprapāñcakathā the verandahs of the Jain temple are described as filled with such patterns and designs of Raṅgoli.

विविक्षमिविन्यासीन्द्वोद्वरसुवर्णकैः ।

आकीर्णं प्राङ्मणं मालैः कलालिकुलामितिभिः ॥ Praśṭava, I, 43.

These, the modern Raṅgolis (known by that name in Bomīsay Presidency), were known as Raṅgavallis and are frequently mentioned in literature.

अकालकोपे दक्षल रङ्गचालिप्रदानेत् । Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 350.

विविधमणिविन्यासविहितवहूरूपाकृते रङ्गत्याश्वलोकनाद्वौतभूपालवालकाकुलितसौविद्वलम् । Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 371.

रङ्गचालिपु परभागकल्पनम् । Yaśastilaka, Vol. II, p. 247.

मन्त्रिचोलालसंमार्जनेन मञ्जमानरङ्गायिः ॥

Udayasundarikathā, p. 39.

In the Mṛcchakaṭīka there is a description of the process of Raṅgoli.

विटूषकः—अहो ! सलिलसिक्तमानितकृतहारितोपलेपनस्य, विविधसुगमिकुसुमोपहारचित्रलिखितमूमिमागस्य....बसन्तसेनामवनशारस्य सश्रीकता ।

Act, IV.

Mosaicking the floor was also well-known and it was permanent Raṅgoli.

चरणनखकुरितेत रङ्गचालिमणीनिशासहमानया ।

Yaśastilaka, Vol. I, p. 24.

Lettering which today engages the attention of many a commercial artist was also a subject of study with the artists in Ancient India. Their idea of lettering is well borne out by the numerous descriptions of artistic letter forms in literature. In the *Vasantavilāsamahākāvya* we have the letter श described, as composing an artistic form, on lines similar to Śrī Harṣa's description of the same letter in his *Naiṣadhiyacarita*.

छिलेखिपुः सृष्टिलिपि विचात् वृत्तं निजां कुञ्जलिनी विचाय ।
यन्मिमेदै विन्दुमिवेन्दुमीलिदैत्यारमर्ती च तदस्तेरेता ॥

Vasantavilāsa, I, 43.

There is another artistic description of the inverted form of the letter श in the same book.

यद्यप्रमौली कपिशीर्षमाला मान्त्री ठकारालिरथोमुखीत् । *Ibid.* II, 43.

The Āryāsaptaśati describes flower-like patterns of letters (drawn like leaves *pārikṛi*).

पूर्वनायिकासखो प्रति नायको बक्ति—
निहितायमस्यामपि सैवेका मनसि मे स्फुरति ।
रेखान्तरोपधानात् पत्राभ्यरुजिरिक दयिता ॥ 337.

Thus we have a rich art spirit pervading and permeating the land. Paintings and drawings were not the only products of the artists' activity. Sculpture was at the zenith of perfection. Architecture was likewise progressing. In fact it is only as handmaids of architecture that painting and sculpture have developed and shone in any part of the world; and the case has not been different in India. Bhuvaneśvara, Ellora, Mahābalipura, Elephanta, Tanjore and Madura are common household words connoting the best of India's art. But that is not all. Allied arts like ivory work, woodcarving and the rest were equally practised with efficiency. A portion of the Sānchi tope was in fact carved by the ivory workers of Bhilsa (*Vidiśā*) as we learn from the inscription there. Vāmana records likewise in his Kāvyaśākārasūtravṛtti that gemwork was cleverly done and figures of gods were cut in them according to the intaglio process.

देवीभावं गमिता परिवारपदं कथं भजत्वेषा ।
न खलु परिमोगयोग्यं देवतरूपाङ्गितं रत्नम् ॥ IV, iii, 2,

Such has been the interest and activity in art; and it is all the more sorrowful for us at the present day to see the depths of degradation to which art has descended in India—especially when we remember that she held the most commanding and towering place in the sphere of world culture spreading new knowledge in countries far and wide about her as in China and Japan; it is to be hoped that bright and golden days for her glorious art, suffering from a temporary eclipse through lethargy on the part of its custodians, would dawn ere long, free her from her shackles and make stalwarts of her somnolent votaries, great and honoured men in the sphere of world's art.



THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EASTERN CĀLUKYAS

BY

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA,
Madras.

In the course of my studies on Cālukyan history¹, I have felt that the system of chronology put forward by Dr. Fleet nearly fifty years ago is susceptible of improvement in the light of fresh data now available. Dr. Fleet worked at this chronology with the aid of the grants mentioned below, which supply some astronomical details for calculation.

- (i) The Satāra grant² of Viṣṇuvardhana I, issued in the 8th year of his brother Pulakēśin II, on the full-moon day of Kārtika (in Śaka 589; A. D. 617, Oct. 20).
- (ii) The Cipurupalli plates,³ also of Viṣṇuvardhana I, issued in his 18th year, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, on the full-moon day.
- (iii) The Rēyūru grant⁴ of Viṣṇuvardhana II, grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana I, which says that the king, in his second year, made a gift, on Wednesday, the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra, when the Moon was in Maghā nakṣatṛa.
- (iv) The Matṭewāda plates,⁵ also of Viṣṇuvardhana II, which record a gift, made by the king in his fifth year, on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, on the new-moon day in the month of Phālguna.

1. Bhāratī. Vol. II, nos. 3, 4, 7 and 9; Vol. III, no. 12.

2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 309 ff.

3. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16 ff.

4. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 186 ff.

5. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 191 ff.

(v) The Maliyānpūndī grant¹ of Amma II Vijayāditya. This grant supplies the interesting information that the king was crowned in Śaka 867, on Thursday, the 13th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, in Maitra (Anūrādhā)nakṣatra, while the sun was in Dhanus, in Ghāṭa lagna (A. D. 945, Nov. 20th Thursday).

Even though there are thus sufficient data, the above records are not by themselves enough to fix the chronology of this dynasty, unless the period of rule of each king is separately known. Fortunately for us, the Eastern Cālukya grants supply this datum. When Dr. Fleet worked at this problem, the grants that supplied this information were those of Amma I and his successors. The highly incompatible nature of the recorded lengths of the reigns, and the dates of the grants of Viṣṇuvardhana I and Viṣṇuvardhana II, calculated from the data supplied by them, can well be seen when we calculate backwards from the coronation date of Amma II or forwards from A. D. 617, the 8th year of Pulakēśin II, under whom Viṣṇuvardhana I was *Yuvarāja*. Thus, the reader may gain some idea of the difficulty, under which Dr. Fleet had striven to adjust all these incompatibilities and finally settle the chronology. While fixing A.D. 615, as the first year of the rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, Dr. Fleet had remarked thus : "The historical event, which gave this starting point was the installation of Viṣṇuvardhana I, not as the *Mahārāja* or the independent ruler of a separate kingdom but as *Yuvarāja*, associated in the government, with his elder brother Pulakēśin II"². Thus he was of opinion that the period of 18 years' rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, should be computed, not from the time he began to rule over Vēṅgi independently, but from the time he was installed as the *Yuvarāja*. Dr. Fleet had to postulate thus for the sake of adjustment. Even then there were many chronological difficulties that confronted him at each and every step in his argument.

Recently, the Attī copper plate grant³ of Cālukya Bhima I has come to light. The importance of this grant cannot be over-estimated, in as much as it supplies the coronation date of that king, Śaka 814 (Mēṣa, Caitra, badi, 2, Monday, Maitra),

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 147 ff.

2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 5.

3. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18.

i.e., 892 A.D., besides giving the duration of the rule of the several previous kings of this dynasty. This is the earliest of the Eastern Cālukya grants that supply the coronation date. The late Mr. K. V. Lakṣmāṇa Rao, M.A., edited this grant in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,¹ in English and in the Journal of the Telugu Academy,² in Telugu. While doing so, he has given the dates of the different kings, calculating back from A.D. 892, the periods of their reigns, as given in this grant. His dates are given below :

(1) Viṣṇuvardhana I	... A.D. 616—634
(2) Jayasimha	... 634—667
(3) Indravarma	... —
(4) Viṣṇuvardhana II	... 667—676
(5) Maṅgiyuvarāja	... 676—701
(6) Jayasimha II	... 701—714
(7) Kolkili	... 714
(8) Viṣṇuvardhana III	... 714—751
(9) Vijayāditya I	... 751—770
(10) Viṣṇuvardhana IV	... 770—806
(11) Vijayāditya II	... 806—846
(12) Viṣṇuvardhana V	... 846—848
(13) Vijayāditya III	... 848—892
(14) Cālukya Bhima (crowned in)	... 892

Even though A.D. 616 thus becomes the initial date of Viṣṇuvardhana I, Mr. Lakṣmāṇa Rao takes 615 as the first year of his rule as an independent sovereign, as against the view of Dr. Fleet. Neither his view nor his dates can be upheld for the reason, that the Saṭāra grant of Viṣṇuvardhana I clearly tells us that he was still a *Vivardja* in the 8th year of Pulakēśin II. Now it is more or less accepted that Pulakēśin II came to the throne in A.D. 610-11.³ Then his 8th year would be 617-18. Even if we accept Dr. Fleet's date for the Saṭāra grant, either 616 or 617, Viṣṇuvardhana I could not have been an independent king in 615. Besides this, grants Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of the list given above and the Cendalur plates⁴ of Sarvalokūśvara, i.e., Maṅgi-

1. Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.

2. Vol. VI, p. 246 ff.

3. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu's Commemoration Vol., p. 97; Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan, p. 87; C. V. Vaidya's Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. I, p. 265.

4. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 236 ff.

yuvarāja, of his 2nd year, all of which supply some details for calculation, as has been noticed above, should be taken into account. The dates 634, the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, 669 and 682, the 2nd and 5th years of Viṣṇuvardhana II respectively and finally 678, the 2nd year of Maṇgi-yuvarāja do not at all satisfactorily answer the details, furnished by the above-mentioned grants. Hence this scheme does not work. Similarly, the whole scheme of Eastern Cālukya chronology, laboriously built up by Dr. Fleet so as to accommodate the dates corresponding to the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, the 2nd and 5th years of Viṣṇuvardhana II gets disturbed and deranged if A.D. 888, the initial date¹ given by him to Cālukya Bhima I is rejected, in view of his coronation date 892, supplied by the Attili grant. Hence, a fresh attempt at resettlement of the Eastern Cālukya chronology is a necessity.

II

Before proceeding further, let us know the length of each reign, as stated by the Eastern Cālukya grants. This kind of enumeration in years of the length of each reign begins from Vijayāditya III, son of Kali-Viṣṇuvardhana V, the twelfth king of this line. He it was who, after going through the imperial records, made a list of kings that preceded him and noted down their periods of rule in his grants. Thus he states in his Sātalur grant:²

एवं पञ्च विष्णुवर्धननामानः द्वौ जयसिंहनामानः एको मंगियुवराजः त्रये विजयादिल्लनामानः (II 27—28).

Curiously enough there are discrepancies in the duration of some of the reigns even in his own grants,³ which cannot be accounted for. No wonder such differences are found also

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 12.

2. Bhāratī, Vol. I, p. 90 ff.

Jour. Andh. His. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 101 ff.

3. Bhāratī, Vol. I, p. 94.

Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 104.

The periods given in the Pāmulapāḍu and Urutūru plates (C. P. no. 5 of 1912-13; Jour. Tel. Acad., Vol. I, p. 140 ff.) tally with one another but differ from those given in the Sātalur plates. The periods given in the Guṇtūr plates (C. P. no. 5 of 1911-12) differ from those given in the Sātalur plates as well as the Pāmulapāḍu and the Urutūru plates.

in the grants of his successors, Cālukya Bhīma I, Amma I and others. Such differences exist in the case of six reigns, namely of (1) Jayasimha Vallabha I, (2) Viṣṇuvardhana III, (3) Vijayāditya I, (4) Viṣṇuvardhana IV, (5) Vijayāditya II and (6) Kal Viṣṇuvardhana V. The length of reign of each Cālukya king is noted down below, along with its variations :

(1) Viṣṇuvardhana I	... 18 years		
(2) Jayasimhvallabha I ¹	... 33 years	30 years	
(3) Indrabhūṭaraka	... 7 days		
(4) Viṣṇuvardhana II	... 9 years		
(5) Maṅgi-yuvarāja	... 25 years		
(6) Jayasimhvallabha II	... 13 years		
(7) Kokkili	... 6 months		
(8) Viṣṇuvardhana III	... 35 years ²	37 years	
(9) Vijayāditya I	... 18 years ³	19 years	
(10) Viṣṇuvardhana IV	... 35 years ⁴	36 years	
(11) Vijayāditya II	... 40 years ⁵	41 years ⁶	48 years ⁷

1. All the Eastern Cālukya grants assign 33 years to Jayasimha I with the exception of the British Museum plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.) of Amma II which give him 30 years of rule.

2. Only Sātalur plates assign this period to Viṣṇuvardhana III, whereas all other Eastern Cālukya grants give him 37 years of rule.

3. All the grants give him a period of rule of 18 years except the Uruturu, Pāmulapāḍu, Guntūru and Pōpaṅgi plates of Vijayāditya III and the Attili and the Madras Museum plates of Cālukya Bhīma I, which assign him a period of 19 years.

4. The Sātalur plates alone give him 35 years of rule.

5. The Sātalur plates and the Guntūru plates of Vijayāditya III; all the copper-plate grants so far discovered of Cālukya Bhīma I; the Masulipatam plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 131 ff.) and the Kōlavennu plates of Cālukya Bhīma II (S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 43 ff.); the Nammūru grant of Amma II (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 61 ff.) assign him this period.

6. The Uruturu, the Pāmulapāḍu and the Pōpaṅgi plates of Vijayāditya III.

7. The Digumarru grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213), and the Masulipatam plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 134 ff.) of Cālukya Bhīma II and all other Eastern Cālukya copper plate grants.

(12) Viśvavardhana V	... 1½ years ¹	1½ years
(13) Guṇaga Vijayāditya III	... 4½ years	
(14) Yuvarāja Vikramāditya I		
(15) Cālukya Bhīma I	... 30 years	
(16) Vijayāditya IV	... 6 months	
(17) Ammarāja I	... 7 years	
(18) Vijayāditya V	... 6 months	
(19) Tāḍapa	... 1 month	
(20) Vikramāditya II	... 1 year ² 11 months ³	9 months
(21) Bhīma	... 8 months ⁴	
(22) Yuddhamalla	... 7 years	
(23) Cālukya Bhīma II	... 12 years	
(24) Amma II Vijayāditya VI	25 years	
(25) Dānāḍava	... 3 years	
(26) Bādapa	} (Period of	27 years
(27) Tāḍapa II	} (anarchy)	
(28) Śaktivarma I	... 12 years	
(29) Vimalāditya	... 7 years	
(30) Rāja Rāja I	... 40 years	
(31) Śaktivarma II	... 1 year	
(32) Vijayāditya VII	... 15 years	
(33) Rājendra Cōda	alias	
Kulottunga Cōda	...	

Having thus definitely known the period of rule of different kings — one of the essential factors that helps us in our attempt —, let us now proceed to consider the chronology. There are certain dates which serve as landmarks, in the Eastern Cālukya chronology. They are the coronation dates of Cālukya

1. All grants give him one and a half years of rule except the Guṇṭur, the Uruturu and the Pōnangi plates of Vijayāditya III which state that he ruled for one year and eight months.

2. The Kōlavennu plates (S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 43 ff.) of Cālukya Bhīma II, and the Malliyāthipūṇḍi, the Gundugolalu, the Masulipatam, the Vāṇḍram, the Vēmulürpādu, the Nammūru, and the Madras Museum plates of Amma II.

3. All other grants give him 11 months; but only the Kalucūmbaṛu grant (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 177 ff.) of Amma II states that he ruled for 9 months.

4. The Digumāgru grant (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213) of Cālukya Bhīma II is the only Eastern Cālukya record that mentions this Bhīma and assigns him this period.

Bhīma¹, of Amma II Vijayāditya,² of Vimalāditya³, of Rāja Rāja I,⁴ of Vijayāditya VII⁵ and finally of Śaktivarman II,⁶ son of Vijayāditya VII and the date denoted by the chronogram 'Svādita', supplied by the Madras Museum plates⁷ of Viṣṇuvardhana III.

Of these, the earliest definite date is that of Viṣṇuvardhana III, known by the chronogram 'Svādita'. What date does this chronogram denote?

There are three systems of notation, by which numerals are expressed by words, one is that used by Āryabhaṭa, in his astronomical works, the second is the chronogram system commonly in use in South India and the third is the letter system.⁸ The system of Āryabhaṭa is confined only to his works. It was never in common use, at least in inscriptions, to express dates. The chronogram system appears to have been popular. Dates in inscriptions also were expressed, though rarely by this method. In this system, each of the thirty three consonants have numerical values as shown below:

1. ka	ṭa	pa	ya	When double letters are
2. kha	ṭha	pha	ra	used, the value of the second
3. ga	ḍa	ba	la	letter only should be taken
4. gha	ḍha	bha	va	into consideration. The
5. ṇa	ṇa	ma	śa	third system of numerical
6. ḍa	ta	...	ṣa	notation, with many varieties,
7. ḍha	tha	...	ṣa	is used only to number the
8. ja	da	...	ha	pages of a manuscript, and
9. jha	dha	...		hence it may be left out of
0. ḡa	na			consideration.

1. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18;
Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc., Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.
3. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.
4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.
5. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.
6. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 33 ff.
C. P. no. 8 of 1913-14.
7. C. P. no. 9 of 1916-17.
8. The South Indian Paleography, p. 79

Thus, by the second system of notation, 'Svādiśa' (second letter va = 4, di = 8, ta = 6) denotes Śaka 684.¹ This year should either be the initial or the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana III or at least should fall in between these two years.

The next definite and nearest year known is the coronation date of Cālukya Bhīma I, i.e., Śaka 814. The subject resolves itself into four sections; one from the initial date of Viṣṇuvardhana I to Śaka 684, the date of Viṣṇuvardhana III, the second from Viṣṇuvardhana III to the coronation date of Cālukya Bhīma I; the third from the initial date of Cālukya Bhīma I to the accession of Ammarāja II and the fourth from the initial year of Ammarāja II to the coronation date of Rāja Rāja I.

III

Let us take stock of all the material we have to-day to settle the chronology of this dynasty on a firmer basis. So far nearly 70 or 80 copper plate grants of this dynasty have been discovered — not to speak of stone inscriptions. Almost all these inscriptions record grants, made on the occasion of either a lunar or a solar eclipse or a sathkrānti. Most of the grants do not give any details in date, except stating the occasion. Out of these grants, those that furnish us with details for calculation are very few, when compared with the total number, but they are now more numerous than when Dr. Fleet worked at this problem. A list of such copper plate inscriptions, along with the details they supply, is given below, in a tabular form. Those grants that merely state the occasion without giving any details, other than the regnal year are not included in this list.

Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	Reg. year.	Astronomical details.
1	Pulakēśin II (Viṣṇuvardhana I)	Satāra grt. ²	8th	Kārtika Su. dī. 15
2	Pulakēśin II	Kopparam pts. ³	21st	Kārtika mahānavami
3	Viṣṇuvardhana I	Cipurupalli grt. ⁴	18th	Śrāvana Su. dī. 15, Lunar eclipse

1. The Govt. Ep. Rep. for 1917, p. 116, para 21.

2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 309 ff.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.

4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 16 ff.

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Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	Reg. year.	Astronomical details.
4	Jayasimha I	Pedavēgi pts. ¹	..	Kārtika paurnamī, Viśuvadina
5	Viśnuvardhana I	Reyūru grt. ²	2nd	Caitra Su. di. 10, Maghā, Wednesday
	" "	Mattevāda pts. ³	5th	Phālguna amāvāsyā, Solar eclipse
	" "	Pamidimū- kkalapts ⁴	..	Kārtika Su. di. 15, Lunar eclipse
6	Māngi yuvarāja	Cendalūr pts. ⁵	2nd	Vaiśākha Su. di. 15, Lunar eclipse
7	Jayasimha II	Penuka- paru grt. ⁶	..	Jyēṣṭha paurnamī, Saṁ- krānti
8	Viśnuvardhana III	Madras Museum pts. ⁷	..	'Svādita', Mārgaśira ba. di. 12
9	Cālukya Bhīma I	Attili grt. ⁸	..	S. 814, Caitra ba. di. 2, Monday, Sun in Mesa and Moon in Maitra (Andrādhā). —(Coronation date)
10	Amma II Vijayā- ditya	Br. Muse- um pts. ⁹	..	S. 897, Mārgaśira ba. di. 13, Friday, Maitra Sun in Dhanus, Kum- bhalaṅga (Coronation date)
11	Vimalāditya	Ranasti- pūṇḍī grt. ¹⁰	..	S. 933, Sun in Vṛśabha Su. di. 6, Thursday,
12	Rāja Rāja I	Kōrumilli grt. ¹¹	..	Puṣya, Siṁhalāgna S. 944, Siṁhamāsa, ba. di. 2, Thursday, Uttarābhādrī, Tuļā- lāgna

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 258 ff.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 186 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 191 ff.
4. C.P. no. 14 of 1916-17.
5. Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 236 ff.
6. Bhāratī, Vol. I, No. 10, p. 139 ff.
Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 313 ff.
7. C. P. no. 9 of 1916-17.
8. C. P. no. 14 of 1917-18;
Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc., Vol. VIII, p. 82 ff.
9. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 15 ff.
10. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.
11. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.

Serial No.	King's name.	Grant.	S. year.	Astronomical details.
13	Vijayāditya VII	Pāmula-vāka pts. ¹	..	S. 952, Sun in Karka-taka, Su. di. 5, Sunday,
14	Saktivarman II	Tel. Acad. pts. ²	..	S. 983, Sun in Tula, Su. di. 2, Thursday, Anūrādhā Kumābhala-gna

Now the problem is to fit these data on the duration of the reigns and on particular dates in some of the reigns into a satisfactory scheme.

The Eastern Cālukya chronology begins with the initial year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I over Vēṅgi. It is to be borne in mind that at least some of the Eastern Cālukya Copper plate grants³ unequivocally state that Viṣṇuvardhana I ruled over Vēṅgi for 18 years. Taking these into account, the commencement of Viṣṇuvardhana's rule over Vēṅgi is now to be determined.

The first record of Viṣṇuvardhana, known to us, is his Satāra grant, issued in the 8th year of Pulakēśin II, i.e., according to Dr. Fleet, in A. D. 617. At the time of this grant, he was holding a subordinate position under his brother as *Yusarāja*. Dr. Fleet, when formulating his scheme, could not reconcile the two facts, mentioned above, namely, the 18 years' rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I and the date of his Satāra grant. Hence he tried to cross over the difficulty with the remark that the historical event, which gave this starting point was the installation of Viṣṇuvardhana I, not as the *Makarāja* or the independent ruler of a separate kingdom but as *Yusarāja*, associated in the government with his elder brother Pulakēśin II.⁴ Thus in Dr. Fleet's opinion, this period of 18 years' rule should be calculated from the time of Viṣṇuvardhana's anointment as crown prince, which is contrary to what is stated in the Eastern Cālukya grants. The

1. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.

2. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 33 ff.

C. P. no. 8 of 1913-14.

3. Digumarra grant of Cālukya Bhīma II (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 213 ff.); Pennēru grant of Saktivarman I (Elliot's collection, No. 15-6-26, p. 348 ff.).

4. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 5.

view of Dr. Fleet cannot be accepted to be correct, as it does not satisfactorily reconcile the two propositions, made in the beginning.

By Dr. Fleet's chronology, it is to be presumed that the conquest of Vēngi by Pulakēśin II was effected, neither in 614, nor in 615 but some time after, even though he did not precisely specify the date of that event anywhere. Some scholars hold that it took place in A. D. 609.¹ Some others place it in 615 or sometime before A. D. 615,² without mentioning any reasons for their statements. Hence these dates may be set aside.

Lack of sufficient data, to fix the date of the conquest of Vēngi has given rise to many conjectures, all unfounded. The only evidence, that enables us to precisely fix the date of this event is that of the Koppāram plates³ of Pulakēśin II, the second grant in the above-given list. This grant was first edited by Mr. K. V. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute⁴ and recently by Dr. Hultzsch, in the *Epigraphia Indica*.⁵ These two scholars are divided in their opinions as to the identification of Pr̥thividuvarāja, who figures in this grant as its ājñapti (executor). The date of this grant was given, as "Pravardhamāna Vijayarājya Saṁvatsara ēkavirhāti, the ninth day of the month of Kārtika." While Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao's date for this grant is A. D. 611, Hultzsch fixes it at A. D. 631. Which of these two dates is correct?

The determination of the date of this grant by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao rested solely upon his identification of the ājñapti — Pr̥thividuvarāja, who was taken to be no other than Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates⁶ of Śaka 532. The reasons that tempted him to identify Pr̥thividuvarāja with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates are (1) the supposed similarity of the name in both the grants. Of the name Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma, he took Dhruvarāja to be the name proper and the remaining words to be appellations. Similarly, of Pr̥thividuvarāja of the Koppāram plates

1. V. A. Smith's Early History of India, p. 384.

2. G. Jouveau Dubreuil's 'Pallavas', p. 37; C. V. Vaidya's 'Mediaeval India', Vol. I, p. 297.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.

4. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, 43 ff.

5. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.

6. Jour. Birm. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. X, p. 365 ff.

Duvarāja was taken to be the name proper. So, he concludes that both the names, mentioned in the two grants refer to one and the same person; (2). In both the grants, he (Dhruvarāja) was said to be the possessor and seizer of many māndalas and Viṣayas (lord of four Viṣayas and māndalas in the Goa grant and seizer of the neighbouring māndalas in the Koppārañ plates).

So on these data, identifying Pr̥thividuvarāja of the Koppārañ plates, with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma of the Goa plates, Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao comes to the conclusion that the 21st year of the Koppārañ plates should be that of Dhruvarāja. As his 20th regnal year is known to be Śaka 532 or A. D. 610 by his Goa plates, so the date of the Koppārañ grant should naturally be 611 A. D. or Śaka 533,—the details Kārtika navami, Thursday, tallying with 21st October, Thursday, in 611.¹

While editing the above inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Dr. Hultzsch, differing from Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, has identified Pr̥thividuvarāja with Pr̥thivīyuvarāja, i. e., the heir-apparent to the throne, viz. Viṣnuvardhana I, brother of Pulakēśin II. He holds, quite correctly, the term Duvarāja to be the Dravidian *tadbhava* of *yuvardja*. In accordance with this identification, he corrects "rājasya Pr̥thividuvarāja mānatī" (line 9) of the very faulty text of the Koppārañ plates to "rājasya Pr̥thividuvarājasyājñaptih." Then he goes on to say that Pr̥thividuvarāja can safely be identified with Viṣnuvardhana I, as it was stated of him in line 9, that he had "secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son". Finally, he takes the 21st year to be that of Pulakēśin II, which was calculated, by Sewell, to be equivalent to A. D. 631, on the details, though meagre, furnished by the grant.²

With due deference Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao I beg to differ from him, regarding his identification of Duvarāja with Dhruvarāja for the following reasons:

- (i) I hold that the name Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarma contains three component parts, (1) Satyāśraya, (2) Dhruvarāja and (3) Indravarma, which might be the names of three different persons. The whole compound may be taken to mean Indravarma, son of

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 261.

Dhruvarāja, son of Satyāśraya. Thus in my opinion the Goa grant really belongs, not to Dhruvarāja but to Indravarma. These three generations of chiefs might perhaps be contemporaries of three generations of Cālukya kings, namely Satyāśraya, Kirtivarma and Maṅgaliśa and lastly Pulakēśin II. Satyāśraya, the grandfather of Indravarma, might have assumed the name of Satyāśraya I, the Cālukya king, being perhaps his subordinate. The Goa grant makes it clear that Indravarma was a feudatory of Pr̄thivivallabha, who should be a Cālukya king, most probably Maṅgaliśa, as has been deemed by Kāśināth Tryambak Telang¹ and the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,² even though his name proper was not given in the grant. Many instances can be cited, from South Indian History, of subordinates, assuming the names of their overlords as a mark of respect and loyalty to them. Thus, the Goa grant cannot be said to belong to Dhruvarāja.

- (ii) The appellation *Pr̄thivi*, mentioned in the Koppārañi plates is not found attached to Dhruvarājendravarma's name in the Goa grant. If both the persons are identical, it is curious that it should be absent in the grant of his 20th year and present in a grant of his 21st regnal year. In this connection, the distinction is worth noting, which Hultzsch draws between the titles "*Pr̄thivīyusarāja*"—"the heir-apparent of the earth," and "*Pr̄thivivallabha*"—"the husband of the earth", the latter being born by Kirtivarma I and Pulakēśin II. If "Satyāśraya" of the Goa grant, is taken to be a mere appellation just like "*Pr̄thivi*", then it is unintelligible, why it should be omitted in the Koppārañi plates, which add much to the renown of "Duvarāja".
- (iii) The Koppārañi plates clearly give the name of the executor of the grant as Duvarāja. If this is taken to be the scribe's mistake, he should have written Dhuvarāja, though not Dhruvarāja. 'Da' can never

1. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. X, p. 348.

2. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan, p. 86.

be mistaken for 'dia', as there was much difference between the two letters in the Vēngi Telugu-Kanarese Script.

- (iv) The phrase or phrases, denoting the possessor of Viṣayas or maṇḍalas should not be taken as an evidence to support any identification, because any conqueror may be described in such general terms. No precision is conveyed by them.
- (v) Pṛthividuvarāja agrees in its contracted form more with Pṛthivivallabha Viṣṇuvardhana yuvarāja of the Satāra plates rather than with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājendravarma of the Goa plates.
- (vi) Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao also admits that Pṛthividuvarāja "secured a (hereditary) kingdom to continue in the lineage of his son."¹ This carries with it some meaning when it is said that he secured a kingdom by his prowess, only here on the *East Coast*, because the Koppārañ plates narrate his conquests in the coastal districts of the Telugu country. If, on the other hand, it is pointed out that by kingdom is meant that tract of country of which Révatidvipa was the capital, then it is wholly unintelligible why that should be stated here in the Koppārañ plates rather than in the Goa grant. Instead, if by kingdom is meant some portion of the Telugu country, then it is to be satisfactorily located and his descendants, who ruled over that kingdom should be identified. So far, neither have we any knowledge of either Dhruvarājendravarma's or his descendants' rule over any part of, nor have any of their records, either in stone or copper plate, come to light in the Telugu country.
- (vii) Finally, the Koppārañ plates were issued by Pulakeśin II himself, as has been admitted by both Messrs. Lakṣmaṇa Rao and Hultzsch. The real grantor was the king himself. Pṛthividuvarāja, as has been observed by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, was only an executor of the grant. As such, the regnal year 21, mentioned therein, should necessarily be that of

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff.

Pulakēśin II, but not that of the executor. No subordinate will dare to date in his own regnal year, a grant, given in the presence of the overlord, if not by the overlord himself.

These considerations actuate me to discard the date A. D. 610 in favour of A. D. 631, which I hold along with Dr. Hultzsch to be the date of the conquest of Vēngi by Pulakēśin II, and identify "Pṛthivīduvarāja" with Pṛthivīyuvarāja" i.e., Viṣṇuvardhana I. The fact that Sarvalōkāśraya *alias* Maṅgi yuvarāja is mentioned in the Eastern Cālukya grants themselves as Maṅgi dogarāja¹ and Maṅgi duvarāja² strengthens the above contention in as much as the terms duvarāja and yuvarāja are identical. As has been proved by the Koppāraṇi grant, most of the Eastern Telugu Country was conquered by the prowess of Viṣṇuvardhana I himself. Another fact, that he was a subordinate to his brother till A. D. 631 also becomes clear from the Koppāraṇi plates, as was pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.³

IV

Thus, the framework of the scheme of the Eastern Cālukya chronology is securely screwed tight by (1) The Koppāraṇi plates, which supply us with the date A. D. 631 for the conquest of Vēngi, (2) the Madras Museum plates of Viṣṇuvardhana III, which give the chronogram "Śvāditā", answering to Śaka 684, equivalent to A. D. 761 or 762, in accordance with the Śaka year, taken to be either current or expired and the coronation dates of kings already cited. Within this framework, the periods of rule of various Eastern Cālukya kings should be adjusted without losing sight of the other grants, mentioned in the list given above, that furnish us with certain details for calculation.

(1) Now, let us take the Cīpurupali plates into consideration. They record, in the 18th year of Viṣṇuvardhana I, a lunar eclipse on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvāṇa. There were lunar eclipses on Śrāvāṇa Su. di. 15 in the years 622, 623, 641, 650, 651 and 668 — roughly during the period to be assigned to Viṣṇuvardhana I. We are given to understand that he ruled over Vēngi for 18 years. As such, the

1. Sāsilur plates of Gupaga Vijayāditya III (Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 101 ff.).

2. Ipūru plates of Viṣṇuvardhana III (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 58).

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.

first four years 622, 623, 632 and 641 need not be taken into consideration, the first two, because the conquest of Vēngi was not effected by that time and the last two, because the 18th year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I from the date of the conquest does not coincide with either 632 or 641. Of the last three dates, the last one may safely be set aside as it is too late a date for him. Therefore, the two remaining dates A. D. 650 and 651 are entitled for our consideration.

(2) The gift, recorded in the Pedavēgi plates of Jayasimha Vallabha I was made on Kārtikapaurṇamī, viśuvadina, i.e., at the time of Vṛścika Saṅkrānti, on Kārtika Śu. di. 15. So a date should be pitched upon, which answers these details, within the period assigned to him by Dr. Fleet and a little later, say between 633 and 680. During this period, Vṛścika Saṅkramana falls on Kārtika Śu. di. 15, in the years 633, 652 and 671 on 22nd, 22nd and 23rd dates of October respectively.¹ 633 may be discarded as it is only two years later in date, than the conquest of Vēngi, which should naturally fall during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana I.

- (i) In 652, Śu. di. 15th of Kārtika begins on October 21st, gh. 46, p. 8 after sunrise and ends on the next day i.e., October 22nd, gh. 41, p. 28 after sunrise. The Saṅkrānti moment falls on October 22nd, at .521 of the day or gh. 31, p. 16 after sunrise.
- (ii) In 671, Śu. di. 15th of Kārtika begins on October 22nd, gh. 47, p. 49 after sunrise and ends on the next day, October, 23rd, gh. 41, p. 49 after sunrise. The Saṅkrānti moment falls on October 23rd, at .437 of the day or gh. 26, p. 13 after sunrise.

Anyone of the above two dates may be selected as the date of those plates, as it is impossible to precisely fix it for want of the regnal year of the king.

(3) The next grants that furnish us with some details are those of Viṣṇuvardhana II. All the four grants of his, so far discovered, contain details, with the exception of only one, which admit of verification. They are the Rēyūru, Maṭṭewāḍa and Pāniḍimukkala plates, which are already known to us by the list, given above.

1. All calculations, made in this paper are for mean tithi and for mean sunrise, in accordance with the Sūrya Siddhānta. I have based my calculations on the chronological tables of Mr. V. B. Ketkar.

Dr. Fleet's date¹ for the Rēyūru grant, A.D. 664, may be left out of account, as it does not fall within the probable limits of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana II, if 631 or 632 is taken as the initial year of rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I, over Vēṅgi.

Dr. Fleet himself has pushed on his calculations till 668 A.D. Between 664 and 668, the latter date only satisfies the details, mentioned in the grant, if 664 is discarded. So let us pursue our study from after 668, i.e., from 669 to roughly 685 A.D. During this period of 16 years, the only date which satisfactorily answers the details, mentioned in the Rēyūru grant is 674 A.D. In this year Caitra śu. di. 10 begins on March 22nd Wednesday, gh. 8, p. 10 after sunrise and ends on 23rd Thursday, gh. 2, p. 13 after sunrise. Similarly Magha nakṣatra begins in the Caitra month in March on 22nd Wednesday, gh. 51, p. 18 after sunrise and ends on 23rd Thursday, gh. 47, p. 2 after sunrise. If 674 be the second year of Viṣṇuvardhana II, then the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana I roughly commences in 621 [674—53] ($18 + 33 + 6$) or 624. But as has been observed above, as the conquest of Vēṅgi was not achieved by 621 or 624, 674 may be left out of consideration. Then in the remaining years of the period under notice, the Maghā nakṣatra commences on the day on which Caitra śu. di. 10 ends, in the years 669, 671, 672, 677, 679, 682, 683 and 685, i.e., in all these years Magha is *t. d. n.* (i.e., the following day's nakṣatra), but not the nakṣatra of the civil day in question, not being current at sunrise on Caitra śu. di. 10. However, from instances of this kind that occur in numerous well-attested inscriptions, no hesitation can be had to accept any one of these years as satisfying our conditions, had it not been for the difference in the week day. The commencing and ending moments of the *tithi* as well as the commencing moments of the nakṣatra in question along with the week day, in the years mentioned above are as follows:

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 7.

Year.	Month.	Caitra			Ending			Commencement			Maghā nañṣatra	
		Sat.	Su.	di.	10	Sun.	gh. 10, p. 26	18th	Tues.	25th	Tues.	gh. 19, p. 55
669	March.	17th	Satur.	gh. 5, p. 13,	18th	Sun.	gh. 10, p. 26	18th	Sun.	25th	Tues.	33, 7
671	"	24th	Mon.	57,	18	25th	Tues.	57, 43	Tues.	21, 14	Sun.	45, 50
672	"	13th	Satur.	25,	5	14th	Sun.	21,	14	14th	Sun.	51, 18
674	"	22nd	Wednes.	8,	10	23rd	Thurs.	2,	13	22nd	Wednes.	51, 18
677	"	18th	Wednes.	52,	52	19th	Thurs.	56,	10	19th	Thurs.	59, 10
679	"	26th	Satur.	36,	7	27th	Sun.	39,	47	27th	Sun.	6, 18
682	"	23rd	Sun.	25,	48	24th	Mon.	19,	55	24th	Mon.	3, 58
683	"	13th	Fri.	7,	12	14th	Satur.	1,	34	14th	Satur.	29, 6
685	"	20th	Mon.	33,	25	21st	Tues.	33,	18	21st	Tues.	27, 18

(ii) Leaving this, let us proceed with the Mattevāda charter. Regarding the date of this grant, Dr. Fleet's calculations range from A. D. 651 to 676. His date is 668 A.D.¹ In doing so, he considered the date both according to the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* systems of citation.

What is meant by *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* systems? The luni-solar month ends with *amāvasyā* in the *amānta* system and with *pūrṇimā* in the *pūrṇimānta* system. The *amānta* month begins with *Sukla* di. 1 after *amāvasyā*, i.e., with bright fortnight, and the *pūrṇimānta* month with *Kṛṣṇa* di. 1, after *paurṇami*. As such, every second or dark fortnight of the *amānta* month becomes the first fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* month. For example *pūrṇimānta* Caitra begins with *Kṛṣṇa* di. 1 of *amānta* Phālguna, *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha with *Kṛṣṇa* di. 1 of *amānta* Caitra and so on. Thus, it may be observed that the bright fortnight alone is common to both the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* systems. In the *pūrṇimānta* arrangement, only the tithis of the dark fortnight are affected. Even to the present day the *pūrṇimānta* month is in vogue in Northern India and the *amānta* one, in South India. On the evidence of dates, furnished by certain inscriptions, discovered in South India, assignable to a period, prior to the 8th century, Dr. Fleet came to the conclusion that system *pūrṇimānta* was prevailing in Southern India, prior to the 8th century.² Hence he calculated the date of this grant in the *pūrṇimānta* system also.

Dr. Fleet's date may be set aside as it is too early to Viṣṇuvardhana II, according to the basis of our calculation. So some other date that satisfies the details, mentioned in the grant, should be found. If Phālguna is taken to be an *amānta* month, then there was only one solar eclipse, recorded in A. D. 686, on February 28th between the years 650 and 690. If it is considered to be a *pūrṇimānta* month, then the eclipse should have occurred on the 30th day of *amānta* Māgha. During the period, mentioned above there were only two solar eclipses, one in 651, on January, 27 and the other in 678, on January, 28. The date 651 can safely be ignored. So, out of the remaining two dates either 678, if *pūrṇimānta*, or 686 if *amānta* month is to be selected. Even though there is no evidence to settle whether the month in question is to be taken as either *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*, yet there

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 9 and 10.

2. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, p. 141 f.

is scope to decide this point unambiguously. At the outset, it should be noted, that the Eastern Cālukya grants bear testimony to the dictum that both the solar and lunar reckonings were in vogue in the Telugu country, at least during the Cālukyan period. The Raṇastipūndī and the Kōrumilli grants, besides giving the date of coronation of Vimalāditya and Rāja Rāja I, state that the event took place in Vṛśabhamāsa and Śrīhamāsa respectively, in solar reckoning. As such, the coronation dates of either Vimalāditya or Rāja Rāja I do not help us to determine whether the month of Phālguna, mentioned in the Mattevāḍa grant is *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. There are yet the British Museum plates of Amma II and the Attili grant of Cālukya Bhīma I. The British Museum plates of Amma II Vijayāditya state that he was crowned in Śaka 867, and give the details of the date as Mārgaśīra ba. di. 13, in lunar reckoning. As the given *tithi* is of the dark fortnight, it helps us to some extent. If Mārgaśīra, cited is a *pūrṇimānta* month, then the 13th day of the dark fortnight should be of *amānta* Kārtika. But the details of the date do not work out correctly, if Mārgaśīra is taken to be such, i.e., *pūrṇimānta* month, thereby proving that the date cited in lunar reckoning in the Cālukyan inscriptions were most probably of the *amānta* but not of *pūrṇimānta* reckoning. The date of accession to the throne of Cālukya Bhīma I, is, according to the Attili plates, Śaka 814, Caitra ba. di. 2, Monday. Unless the month is Vaiśākha, the details, as Mr. Swamikannu Pillai observes, do not admit of verification.¹ As such, I take Caitra to be a mistake of the scribe for Cittirai, the Tamil solar month corresponding to lunar Vaiśākha. Anyhow this date does not help us owing to this discrepancy. No evidence has come forth, so far, to confirm Dr. Fleet's point of view that the *pūrṇimānta* system alone was in vogue prior to the eighth century. This want is filled up by the Cipuruppalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I. These plates, besides recording the gift, made at the time of the lunar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa, furnishes us with a date in numeral figures at the end of the charter, which Dr. Fleet has read as Sam. 18, mā. 4, di. 10 5 (=15). This is the date of the grant. If Śrāvaṇa is taken to be a *pūrṇimānta* month, then the day should be 30 but not 15 and the month 5 but not 4, as given in the charter.

1. Govt. Epi. Rep. for 1918, part I. appendix, E., page. 126.
L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's "The Indian Ephemeris", Vol. I, part. II, p. 62.

These discrepancies will vanish if the month in question is taken to be an *amānta* month. In that case, it is to be understood that Viṣṇuvardhana I gave this gift in his 18th regnal year, on the 15th day after four months had elapsed, in the month of Śrāvana, on the 15th day of the bright fortnight, at the time of the lunar eclipse. Thus, the Cipurepalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I, along with the British Museum plates of Amma II Vijayāditya make it absolutely clear that the *amānta* but not the *pārṣimānta* system was followed during the early Eastern Cāluṅya period.¹

The above result makes it conclusive that the month of Phālguna, mentioned in the Mattevāda grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II was an *amānta*, and not a *pārṣimānta* month. Therefore, A. D. 686 may be selected as the date of that grant.

(iii) Accordingly, the lunar eclipse, in the month of Kārtika, recorded in the Pamiḍimukkala plates should fall between the dates 681 and 691. In both the years 682 and 683, there were lunar eclipses in the month of Kārtika. As the regnal year of the king was not given in the plates, anyone of these two years may be accepted as satisfying the details of the grant.

(4) Maṅgi Yuvarāja's second year², in which was issued his Cendalur grant, should be A. D. 692, if the last year of rule of his predecessor Viṣṇuvardhana II is 691 A. D. There were no lunar eclipses in the month of Vaiśākha in A. D. 690, 691 or 692.

(5) The only date between A. D. 689 and 727, that answers well the details mentioned in the Penukaparu grant of Jayasimha II is A.D. 715. This is the only date assignable to that grant. In this year jyēṣṭha Śu. di. 15 begins on Wednesday, 22nd May, gh. 9, 22 palas after sunrise and ends on Thursday, 23rd May, gh. 11, p. 56 after sunrise. The Mithuna Sarīkrānti moment falls on 22nd May, Wednesday at .350 of the day or 21 ghaṭikas after sunrise.

(6) As has already been noticed, Śaka 684 falls during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III, which corresponds to either A.D. 761 or 762.

1. Perhaps through the influence of the Cōjas, with whom the Eastern Cāluṅyas had contracted marriage alliances, the solar reckoning was introduced into the Telugu Country.

2. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 236ff. The English date equivalent here given is 6th May, 673 A.D.

V

Now, with the help of the dates, that answer the details given in the grants, shown in the table, a scheme of chronology may be formulated, in the adjustment of which, three assumptions are involved, namely, (i) The regnal years of each king are to be counted just like current years, i.e., the first regnal year of a king should be counted, not from the expiry of the first year but from the first day of his first year; (ii) The same year has to be counted twice over, as the last year of one king and the first year of the next king; (iii) The Śaka years should be taken to be expired years and not as current ones. With these observations, I put forth my scheme of Eastern Cālukya chronology, as shown below:

	Name of the King.	Period of rule.	Śaka years.	or	A.D. years.
1	Viṣṇuvardhana I	18 yrs.	555—572	or	633—650
2	Jayasimha I	33 "	572—604	"	650—682
3	Viṣṇuvardhana II	9 "	604—612	"	682—690
4	Mangiyuvārāja	25 "	612—636	"	690—714
5	Jayasimha II	13 "	636—648	"	714—726
6	Kokkili	+	648—649	"	726—727
7	Viṣṇuvardhana III	37 "	649—685	"	727—763

The next landmark in the Eastern Cālukya chronology is the date Śaka 814 or A.D. 892, the initial year of Cālukya Bhīma I. There are five reigns more to be adjusted before that of Cālukya Bhīma I. Even though the shortest length for each of the above reigns, according to the Sātaluru grant, is taken into account, the sum total (134 years) exceeds by 4 years, the intervening period between the last year of Viṣṇuvardhana III and the initial year of Cālukya Bhīma I (892—762=130 years). No adjustment is possible for this discrepancy but an explanation offers itself. It seems that Cālukya Bhīma I was anointed to the kingdom of Vēngi, even during the reign of Vijayāditya III, the necessity for such an event being, perhaps the default of a male heir to the throne, his old age, the untimely and unexpected death of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya I and lastly the political strife imminent with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Mālkhed¹. Consecrating Vikramāditya, his brother, as heir to

1. There were wars between the Eastern Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the time of Kṛṣṇa I (Vide, Ep. Ind., Vol. VI,

the throne in itself proves that Vijayāditya III had no male issue, and the term Yuvarāja, applied to Vikramāditya in all the Eastern Cālukya grants, leads us to the conclusion that he died, while he was yet a crown-prince. Owing perhaps to the conjoint rule of Vijayāditya III with Cālukya Bhima I, even after this event, the Cālukyan grants give the former a reign of 44 years and count the latter's period of rule from the date of his coronation, even though the former was the actual ruler, during the four years in question. Numerous instances of this sort may be cited from Cōja history¹ as well as from the history of the Cālukyas of Bādām². If the discrepancy of these four years, is thus explained and adjusted, then the length of each of the above-stated five reigns may be given as shown below:

8	Vijayāditya I	..	18 yrs.	685—702	or	763—780
9	Visnuvardhana IV	..	35 "	702—736	"	780—814
10	Vijayāditya II	..	40 "	736—775	"	814—853
11	Visnuvardhana V	..	1½ "	775—776	"	853—854
12	Vijayāditya III	..	44 "	776—819	"	854—897
13	Cālukya Bhima I	..	Crown-ed in	814	"	892

From the initial year of Cālukya Bhima I to the accession date of Amma II Vijayāditya, the chronology may be formulated as follows:

13	Cālukya Bhima I	..	30 yrs.	814—843	or	892—921
14	Vijayāditya IV	..	½ "	843	"	921
15	Amma I	..	7 "	843—849	"	922—927
16	Bēta Vijayāditya V	..	15 days	849	"	927
17	Tādapa I	..	1 m.	849	"	92
18	Vikramāditya II	..	1 yr.	849—850	or	927—928
19	Bhima III ³	..	—	—	"	—
20	Yuddhamalla II	..	7 yrs.	850—856	"	928—934
21	Cālukya Bhima II	..	12 "	866—867	"	934—945
22	Amma II Vijayāditya VI	..	Crown-ed in	867	"	945

p. 208ff— The Alas plates of Gōvinda II). There are many Rāstrakūṭa as well as the Eastern Cālukya grants that bear evidence to the Rāstrakūṭa-Cālukya wars.

1. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's, 'The Cōjas', Vol. I, p. 221.
2. Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 165.
3. Since this prince was mentioned only in one grant, his reign was left out of account.

The next guiding factors, namely the length of the succeeding reigns after Amma II and the coronation dates, available from the later Eastern Cālukya grants are already known to us. With the exception of the Ārumbāka plates of Bādapa and the Śripūṇḍī grant of Tādapa II, all the later Eastern Cālukya grants, which invariably belong to the descendants of Dānārṇava, step-brother of Amma II, state that the former ruled for three years after the latter. But, of the two above-mentioned grants, the Ārumbāka plates, which alone give us the length of reigns, do not admit of Dānārṇava's rule but give us to understand that Bādapa came to the throne immediately after Amma II. By the Madras Museum plates¹ of Amma II it is known that Dānārṇava ruled the country of Vēṅgi, as his brothers' representative, when the latter had been to Kāśīnga. Now, if, it is necessary to account for the omission of Dānārṇava's rule in the Ārumbāka plates, then it may be stated, that the later grants perhaps count as his rule those three years of this regency. But, as all the later Eastern Cālukya grants testify to his independent rule after his brother, Amma II, their statements may be safely relied upon and taken to be fairly correct. According to those authorities, there was, after Dānārṇava's rule, anarchy for a period of 27 years in Vēṅgi country, — the country having become devoid of a ruler.

But on the other hand it seems certain, as has been pointed out by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Rao, on the authority of the Ārumbāka and Śripūṇḍī grants that, in fact it was not a period of anarchy but a wilful omission of the reigns of Bādapa and Tādapa II by their *dāyāddis*. Thus, it has now become almost an established and approved fact that the sons of Yuddhamalla II, Bādapa and Tādapa II of the collateral branch, ruled over Vēṅgi during that period. As there was no mention of these two kings in the later Eastern Cālukyan grants, it is not possible to know the period of rule of each of these separately. Whether they ruled the kingdom separately or conjointly, it is certain that the period of anarchy is nothing but the total duration of the reign of these two rulers. Order was restored in the country of Vēṅgi, according to the same authorities, with the accession of Śaktivarman I, son of Dānārṇava.

The intervening period between the coronation dates of Amma II and Rāja Rāja I, i.e., 77 years (1022—945=77) does not

1. C. P. no. 1 of 1916—17.

tally with the total duration of the intermediate reigns, including those of Bādapa and Tāḍapa II, i.e., the period of the so called anarchy, but falls short of the above figure by 8 years ($25+3+27+12+7=69$). If, instead of Rāja Rāja's Vimalāditya's coronation date is taken into account, then the difference dwindles into 3 years [$(1011-945=66); (25+3+27+12=63)$ years actually ($66-63=3$)], a period to be made up to coincide with the initial year of Vimalāditya.

Dānārṇava's rule comes to an end with A. D. 971, and if Vimalāditya's initial year is taken to be the basis, then counting backwards, we get A.D. 1000 as the accession date of Śaktivarma, Vimalāditya's brother and predecessor. Then the so-called period of anarchy, i.e., the period of rule of Bādapa and Tāḍapa II is to be assumed to be 30 years¹ as against 27 years of the later grants. Therefore, an explanation seems to be necessary. After a period of 27 years, Śaktivarma should have, perhaps, become the master of the situation and brought the country under his control, even though there were sporadic risings and fights here and there. Finally, perhaps, three years after, in A. D. 1000, he should have ascended the throne.

As an alternative to the above proposition, Dānārṇava may be presumed to have ruled for more than three years — a presumption that goes against the definite statements of all the Cālukyan grants. But I hold that the former view agrees more with the evidence we have, on hand.

Coming next to Vimalāditya, if the period of his rule and his coronation date Saka 933 are taken into consideration, then his reign should terminate with Saka 939, which should naturally be the initial year of the reign of his son, Rāja Rāja I. But as we know already, Rāja Rāja's coronation took place in fact in Saka 944, or A. D. 1022. Therefore, it should be stated that Vimalāditya reigned, not for 7 years, but for 12 years, thus creating a discrepancy of 5 years. But this riddle is not so difficult to solve as it may seem to be at first.

The discrepancy can be explained and adjusted by means of Raṇastipūṇḍī² and Rāmatirtham³ records of Vimalāditya, and the Pāmulavāka plates⁴ and the Kūrumilli grants⁵ of Vijayāditya

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 272.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 347 ff.

3. Ep. Coll., no. 83 of 1917.

4. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 277 ff.

5. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 50 ff.

VIII and Rāja Rāja I respectively, sons of Vimalāditya, by different mothers.

Whether Vimalāditya became an actual convert to Jainism or not, it is evident that he favoured that religion. His Rāmatūrīham record bears testimony to this view. At the time of the gift, recorded in the Raṇastipūndī grant of the 8th year of his rule, i.e., Saka 940, Vimalāditya was a Śaivaite, having borne the titles *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Paramabrahmanya*¹. But his Rāmatūrīham record, which makes us believe that he was Jain, should be later in time than his Raṇastipūndī grant, i.e., perhaps of his 9th year or Saka 941. So, these two above records make the following points clear, namely, (i) that Vimalāditya ruled for more than 7 years, though the duration of his reign is stated to be only 7 years by the later grants; (ii) that he became Jain after his 8th year, i.e., Saka 940, the date of the Raṇastipūndī record², before which he was a Śaivaite; and (iii) that his rule, as a consequence, should have lasted for more than 8 years, i.e., 9 years or even longer.

Vijayāditya is said to have been crowned in Saka 952, (27th June, 1031 A.D.) after wresting the kingdom of Vēngi from his step-brother, Rāja Rāja I, after he had ruled for 12 years.³ Thus we find that Rāja Rāja's 12th year corresponds to Saka 952, giving us the initial year of his rule as Saka 941. In fact, Saka 944 is the coronation date given him by the Kōrumilli grant.

Over against many speculations and conjectures so far made either to adjust or to explain the discrepancy of 5 years, shown above and the coronation dates of Vijayāditya and Rāja Rāja I, I hold that Vimalāditya was duly crowned in Vēngi in Saka 933 and was ruling the country till the accession of Rāja Rāja I, i.e., Saka 944, without a break. But, at the same time, installing his son Rāja Rāja I, prince-regent, full 8 years after his coronation, i.e., in his 9th year, in Saka 941, and placing the whole burden of the kingdom upon his shoulders, he did not actively take part in the affairs of the state, having himself become a nominal ruler. Perhaps, he, henceforward, devoted his whole time to religious study, having become an ardent disciple of Trikālayōgimunindra or Trikālayōgi Siddhāntadēva of the Dēsi-gana⁴ School. Thus, it is clear that Rāja Rāja I was actually

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 355 f.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 358 f.

3. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, p. 279 f.

4. Ep. Rep. for 1918, p. 133, para 6.

ruling the country as a regent of his father, even though his formal coronation was deferred to a later date, till Śaka 944 or A. D. 1022. Vijayāditya VII rebelled against him during his rule and took hold of the kingdom. How long he held the sceptre is not known; but the existence of Rāja Rāja's inscriptions¹ after Śaka 952 and the period 40 years assigned to his rule in the later Cālukyan grants clearly prove, that, Vijayāditya VII was driven out very soon, and that Rāja Rāja I, regaining his throne, continued to rule till Śaka 983 or A. D. 1061. It is unnecessary for us here to go into the reasons that led Vijayāditya VII to rebel against his brother or to follow the course of events of this sanguinary war or to note the contending parties.

After the demise of Rāja Rāja I, his son Rājendra Cōda should have come to the throne of Vēngi. But inscriptions reveal the fact that Vijayāditya VII seized again Vēngi and raised his son Śaktivarma II to the throne. It is not known how he succeeded in his attempt, when Rājendra Cōda was the crown-prince. History is silent as to the activities of Rājendra Cōda for a decade, i.e., from 1061 to 1070 A. D., after the death of his father. No record of this prince during that period has so far been discovered. All the innumerable inscriptions of his, that have come to light, give A. D. 1070 as the initial year of his rule. But yet this fact is mentioned in some of his early inscriptions² that he captured elephants at Vairāgaram, conquered Cakrakōṭa and took tribute from the king Dhārāvarṣa at Cakrakōṭa while he was yet a *yuvārāja*. It is not yet known precisely when and in what connection this expedition was undertaken by him. It may be perhaps when he was away on this expedition, that the death of Rāja Rāja I occurred, and the capture of Vēngi by his paternal uncle, Vijayāditya VII was effected.

Śaktivarma II was crowned in Śaka 983 or A. D. 1061.³ But after a rule of one year, he passed away, when his father Vijayāditya "resumed the authority out of regard for Dharma". Hence it is evident that Vēngi was under the control, not of Rājendra Cōda, but of Vijayāditya VII, immediately after the death of Rāja Rāja I. Vijayāditya's rule over Vēngi lasted for 15 years, as is evident from his records,⁴ i.e., till 998 or A. D. 1076.

1. Ep. Coll., no. 670 and 671 of 1920.

2. S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 64-7.

3. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. V, p. 40 f.

4. S. I. I., Vol. IV, no. 1011,

During this period, the illustrious line of Cōla rulers of Kāñci, from Rāja Rāja I came to an end with Virarājēndra, the third son of Rājēndra Cōla I. Adhirājēndra, the son of the former, being a very feeble prince, his brother-in-law, Vikramāditya VI, the Western Cālukya ruler of Kalyān and Rājēndra Cōda, the Eastern Cālukya prince, both, with a view to gain supremacy over South India, intervened in the political affairs of the Cōla country. Immediately after the death of Virarājēndra, Vikramāditya VI set up Adhirājēndra on the Cōla throne. But after a rule of two years he was murdered, as a consequence of the political disturbances at the Cōla capital, and we find Rājēndra Cōda, the Cālukya prince, in possession of his maternal kingdom, the Cōla country. So far, there is no evidence to show that Vijayāditya VII, the then ruler of Vēngi was his subordinate and that Vēngi had come under his control before A. D. 1076.

It is hard to conjecture the nature of relations that existed between Vijayāditya VII and his nephew Rājēndra Cōda, during this period. Since no overlord is mentioned in Vijayāditya's records, it is to be presumed that he was ruling the country independently. Even though some records¹ of Viracōda, son of Rājēndra Cōda, bear evidence to the regard the latter had entertained for his uncle, Vijayāditya and give out that Rājēndra Cōda told his son Vira Cōda while sending him as a viceroy to Vēngi, after the death of Vijayāditya VII, that he, being desirous of the Cōla sovereignty and of subjugating various countries, had transferred the sovereignty of Vēngi to his paternal uncle, we are led to believe that he said so out of policy, so as not to create any bad impression regarding his uncle, in the minds of his sons, in the political interests of his paternal kingdom.

In this connection, this fact is worth noting that for the first 5 years of his reign, from A. D. 1070, Rājēndra Cōda did not assume the honorific title of Kulōttunga, (the elevator of his family), which became his confirmed name from after A. D. 1075-76 — the same year, in which Vijayāditya VII breathed his last. If it is a fact that there are no inscriptions of his, with the name Kulōttunga, before his 5th year, then the change of name may be taken as indicative of his authority over his paternal as well as his maternal Kingdoms — the Vēngi and the Cōla countries.

Anyhow, from after A. D. 1076, Rājēndra Cōda alias Kulōttunga I became the lord of the Vēngi kingdom also

1. S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 49 ff; and Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 55 f.

and nominated his sons, one after another to rule over that country. Besides this, he, by assigning limited tracts of country, on feudal tenure, to some of his trusted commanders, who had been serving him before, created a number of feudatories, perhaps as a check over his sons, lest they should become too powerful and rise against him. Thus, the reign of Kulottunga I forms a definite landmark in the history of the Telugu country, regarding not only the transfer of capital from Rājamundry to Tanjore but also for the beginnings, laid down in that reign, of the feudal kingdoms, which grew very powerful in the succeeding reigns.

Rāja Rāja II, son of Kulottunga I became the first viceroy of Vēṅgi and controlled its fortunes after the death of Vijayāditya in A. D. 1076. He was crowned on 27th July, 1076 at Janānāthaṇagari, i.e., Drāksārām, in the East Godavary district. With Rāja Rāja I and Vijayāditya VII, the Eastern Cālukya line founded by Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana I comes to a close, giving rise to another historic line, the Cālukya-Cōdas of Tanjore, the originator of the new line being Kulottunga Cōda I himself.

From Amma II, the chronological scheme may be continued as shown below, adjusting the dates, having in view the various questions dealt with in the preceding paragraphs:

22	Amma II	2 yrs.	867—891	or	945—969
23	Dānārgava	3 "	891—893	"	96—" 971
24	Bādapa	30 "	893—922	"	971—1000
25	Tādapa II	12 "	922—933	"	1000—1011
26	Śaktivarman I	7 "	933—944	"	1011—1022
28	Vijayāditya VII	(Crown-ed in)	952	"	1031
29	Rāja Rāja I	40 yrs.	944—983	"	1022—1061
30	Śaktivarman II	1 yr.	983—984	"	1061—1062
31	Vijayāditya VII	15 yrs.	984—998	"	1062—1076
32	Kulottunga I	(Crown-ed in)	992	"	1070

Post Script.

Ep. Coll., no. 80 of 1930, giving the Cyclic year Bahudhanya, Kārtika Śu. di 5, Sun. corresponding to the 5th reg. year of a Viṣṇuvardhana has come to my notice too late to be considered in this article. On going through the facsimile of the inscription which I was kindly permitted by the Superintendent of Epigraphy, to consult, I came to the conclusion that the reg. year is 12th, corresponding to 11th Oct., 739 A. D. in the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III. I hope to deal with the question fully in a separate paper.

SOME RARE METRES IN SANSKRIT

BY

DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH

Mysore

The number of metres in Sanskrit and Prākṛti is, as stated in the commentaries on *Piṅgala-Chandas-sūtra*, *Prākṛta-Piṅgala*, *Vṛttaratiñkara*, and other similar works, well-nigh incalculable, that of the *Sama-vyittas* alone exceeding 130 million.¹ The number of those actually described and named in these works, however, is an infinitesimal fraction of the above and does not exceed 300; and of these metres too the great majority are used only rarely. When therefore an author happens to employ a rare metre in his composition, it is quite possible that the reader, copyist or editor of the work may fail to recognise the metrical character of the passage in question and look upon it as prose. The following passage on pp. 15-16 of Vol. I of Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka-campū* (*Nirṇayasāgara* ed. of 1916) offers an instance in point:

विक्चकगोत्पदस्पर्भितरलेषुणाः ।
केलितालकणत्कनकमयकहृणाः ॥
सरसनखराजिविच्छुरितमुजमण्डलाः ।
काश्मिकोष्ठासवशदर्शितोरुस्यलाः ॥
सैरसंज्ञपनस्मेरविन्दावराः ।
कर्णकण्डूमिषोद्दलितकक्षान्तराः ॥
२पृथुनितम्बस्तुलभृटहगतिविकमा� ।
सहजशृङ्गारसभरितमुखविभ्रमाः ॥

1. This figure does not take into account the subdivisions of the *Gāha* (26 in number), *Skandha* (28), *Dohā* (23), *Rasikā* (8), *Rōla* (12), *Kāvya* (45), *Saippadī* (71), *Rāddā* (7) and *Upajāti* (14) that are defined and named in the commentary on *Prākṛta-Piṅgala* (Bibl. Indica ed.) and on p. 215 of Vecārāma Sārvabhauma's edition (Calcutta, Samivat 1926) of *Piṅgala-Chandas-sūtra* with Halāyudha's scholium.

पीनकुचकुम्भर्पुरुषकञ्जुकाः ।
 शालिवशेषु यन्त्राः क्षणं गोपिकाः ॥
 पान्यसार्थेषु नवनोत्सवं कुर्वते ।
 यत्र तापे पुनश्चिरमुपातन्त्रते ॥

Though printed as prose by the editors (Pandits Śivadatta and Vāsudeva Lakṣmīya Śāstri Papaśikar), it is readily plain to the ear that the passage consists of six rhyming couplets or twelve lines each of which is formed of four feet of five mātrās.

The writers on Sanskrit prosody have no name for this metre, which however is used fairly frequently by Kannada and Telugu writers and is known as Lalita-ragale and Dvīradagati-ragāda respectively in these languages.

Raghaṭā (in Kannada *ragale* and *ragāda* in Telugu) is the name of a class of metres whose characteristics are: (1) each line consists of a certain number of feet containing a certain number of mātrās; (2) each odd line, generally, rhymes with the line that follows and forms a couplet with it; and (3) there is no limit to the number of lines that may constitute a stanza.¹

The Telugu prosodist Appakavi (later than 1600 A. D.) describes nine kinds of Ragadas—Hāyapracāra, Turaga-valgana, Dvīradagati, etc., while the Kannada prosodist Nāgavarma (c. 1040 A.D.) mentions in his *Chandambudhi* (Kittel's edition, p. 76) the names of three Ragales, Mandānila, Lalita and Utsāha and says that the lines of these Ragales contain 16, 20 and 24 moras respectively. In the examples cited by Kittel, the sixteen moras of the Mandānila-ragale are contained in four feet of four moras each (cp. *ā vēleyo! ati-sambhramam etedire | pū-yali pura-vithigalo!* *netedire*), the twenty moras of the Lalita-ragale in four feet of five moras each (cp. *alli mānuvaradalli mālikā-lateyalli | yeleya-* *sugemaradalli jalaruḥkarakadalli*), and the twenty-four moras of the Utsāha-ragale in eight feet of three moras each (cp. *atṭa-*

1. Thus stanza 55 of the *Samsa-padam* (a poem published recently, in 1928) consists of 242 lines of Lalita-ragale.

2. The reading *prthu-nitomba-vaśa-skhalat* of the edition is without doubt wrong. The word 'vaśa' is in disaccord, not only with the metre, but with the sense also; and I have no doubt that it is due to a later interpolator.

*āma vīrya bīdām koṭa sūla kōla-bīdām | pētīyoṣīha cinnad
oḍāvē tōṭṭen enālū Yāmanu bīdām).*¹

The six couplets cited above from the Yaśastilaka are, plainly, composed in the Lalita-ragale, and constitute, in all probability, but one stanza.

2. Another instance of a verse being regarded as prose is met with on p. 270 of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. The verse *jītam abhīkṣyam eva Jāmbavatī-vadāndravindorjītālinā | dūnauḍīganā-mukhdmboja-lakṣmī-tuṣṭrena Viṣṇunā* which is contained in lines 1, 2 of the Tuśum rock inscription edited there, was taken for prose by Dr. Fleet.² Similarly, the verse [arit] *narendra-mauhi-vinyasta-maṇi-kirāṇa-līḍha-kramāmbujah | Pravarasenas tasya putro 'bhād vikaśan-navendivarekṣapah* that occurs in a Vākāṭaka inscription at Ajantā (*Archaeological Survey of Western India, IV*, p. 125) was not at first

1. In some Kannada works however the lines of the Utsāhabragale consist of four feet only of three moras each (cp. *kuñirva pū-golāṅgaallī | tañīra kṣvāñangalī*) or are formed of three such feet and a *guru* (e. g. *māvīneśīyo adūtum | pāḍām eyde kēlūtum*). The lines of the Mandānila-ragale too are sometimes formed of four feet of 3, 5, 3, 5 moras respectively (cp. *nandānamgalośūtiāva bīrayiyīm | kompa kāmāleya pāṭa surayiyīm*).

2. It is less comprehensible why Fleet, on p. 9 *op. cit.* gives as prose the following verse that is contained in lines 30-31 of Inscription No. 1:

pradāna-bhuja-vikrama-praśama-śāstra-vākyodayasair
upary-upari saṃcayocchritam antekā-mārggam yaśah |
punāti bhuvana-trayasi Paśupater jaṭāntar-guhā-
nirodha-parimokṣa-śighram iva pāṇḍu Gāngam payah ||

Not only is the metre in which the verse is composed, namely, Pṛithvī, a well-known one, but the writer of the inscription has interposed a *d a y d a* after the last word of the prose passage that precedes this verse to indicate that what follows is a verse. Dr. Fleet did not understand the purpose of this *d a y d a*, but has said (n. l. l. c.) that 'this mark of punctuation is unnecessary'.

The editors of the *Divyāvadāna* too (Cambridge University Press, 1886), have printed as prose a great number of verses composed in different well-known metres. See for instance pages 354-59.

recognised as verse, but was regarded as prose. It was only after the Tâlgunda pillar inscription of Kâkustha-varman¹, which contains 24 verses composed in the same metre, was discovered by Mr. Rice, that the similarity of these two verses with them was noticed and their metrical character recognised.

This Tâlgunda inscription has been edited by the late Mr. Rice on p. 200ff. of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII and by the late Prof. Kielhorn on p. 24ff. of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII; and the latter scholar has reproduced on p. 27 *i. c.* the observations regarding the metre of the last-mentioned 24 verses which he made in German in a paper entitled 'Ein unbekanntes indisches Metrum' (*Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1899, p. 182ff.). The metre in which these verses are composed is, according to him, a species of mātrāsamaka with four pādas whose general scheme is:

pādas 1 and 3: $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$ (15 mātrās),
 pādas 2 and 4: $\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$ (15 mātrās);

but 18 of the odd pādas, out of 48, he points out, do not conform to this scheme, fourteen having 16 mātrās and four 17 mātrās, instead of 15.

Now the name mātrāsamaka can be applied with propriety to denote the metre of such verses only as have the same number of mātrās in all the four pādas. There are only fifteen verses in the Tâlgunda inscription which this description suits; and there still remain nine verses (Nos. 2, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 21, 24) with unequal number of mātrās in the pādas whose metre requires explanation. In two only of these verses (Nos. 14, 15) is the number of akṣaras the same in both halves; but in both verses the sequence of *gurus* and *laghus* in the first half differs from that in the second half. It hence becomes obvious that the metre in which these nine verses are composed is neither a varṇa metre nor a mātrā metre; and since these verses resemble so closely the other fifteen verses to which the description mātrāsamaka fits, it also becomes plain that these latter verses are not in reality mātrāsamakas, but that they are composed in a metre which is neither a varṇa metre nor a mātrā-metre. In other words, it becomes plain that the gapas or feet

1. More correctly, of Śāntivarman, son of Kâkustha-varman.

that make up the pādas of these twenty-four verses are neither varṇa-gaṇas nor mātrā-gaṇas.

Now there is a third class of gaṇas, differing from the above two, which I shall call miśra-gaṇas : in these gaṇas, there is constant, neither the number of akṣaras as in the varṇa-gaṇas (ma, ya, ra, sa, ta, ja, bhā, na), nor that of mātrās as in the mātrā-gaṇas (ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa).¹ On the other hand, however, they resemble the mātrā-gaṇas in having more than one form, and the varṇa-gaṇas in that the number of mātrās contained in them is not anywhere taken into consideration.²

Such miśra-gaṇas have not, so far as I know, been described by any writer on Sanskrit prosody. They are known however to writers on Telugu prosody who describe three classes of such gaṇas under the name of Sūrya-gaṇa, Indra-gaṇa and Candra-gaṇa. The Kannada prosodist Nāgavarma too describes three kinds of such gaṇas in vv. 297-298 (pp. 95, 96), saying that they are peculiar to Kannada poetry. The three kinds are named by him Brahma-gaṇa, Viṣṇu-gaṇa and Rudra-gaṇa and consist respectively of gaṇas of two, three and four gurus and their transformations according to the process described in v. 298.³

There are thus, according to Nāgavarma, 4 kinds of Brahma-gaṇas, 8 kinds of Viṣṇu-gaṇas and 16 kinds of Rudra-gaṇas⁴ as shown below:

1. Regarding the mātrā-gaṇas ṭa, ṭha, etc., see *Prākṛta-Paingala*, I, 12 ff. The ṭa-gaṇa which contains six mātrās has thirteen forms; the ṭha-gaṇa, containing five mātrās, has eight forms, etc.

2. That is, the miśra-gaṇas are not mātrā-gaṇas.

The varṇa-gaṇas, it will be borne in mind, have only one form each. The gaṇa ra, for instance, has the form——and no other, the gaṇa na the form —— and no other.

3. This process is the same as the *prastāra-vidhi* described by writers on Sanskrit prosody; only, in respect of the first place, Nāgavarma enjoins that two *laghus* should be substituted, and not one *laghu* as is usual, for the *guru*.

4. Nāgavarma has given different names to each one of these twenty-eight gaṇas, in the same way as the author of the *Prākṛta-Paingala* has given different names to the different forms of the ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha and ṇa gaṇas in I, 15 ff.

Brahma-gapas	Viṣṇu-gapas	Rudra-gapas
1. — —	1. — — —	1. — — — —
2. ○○—	2. ○○— —	2. ○○— — —
3. — ○	3. — ○ —	3. — ○ — —
5. ○○○	4. ○○○ —	4. ○○○ — —
	5. — — ○	5. — — ○ —
	6. ○○— ○	6. ○○— ○ —
	7. — ○○	7. — ○○ —
	8. ○○○○	8. ○○○○ —
		9. — — — ○
		10. ○○— — ○
		11. — ○— ○
		12. ○○○— ○
		13. — — ○○
		14. ○○— ○○
		15. — ○○○
		16. ○○○○○

It will be observed that none of the twenty-eight gapas mentioned above begins with an iambus ($\text{○} -$), because, as observed by Kittel (p. 98 *of. cit.*; compare also his observations on pp. 24, 26) such feet are foreign to Kannada metres. Since such feet are in use in Sanskrit metres, we must add to the injunctions given in v. 298 by Nāgayarṇa, that a single *laghu* can be substituted in the place of the first *guru* too, when such *guru* is followed by another *guru*.¹ We thus get $\text{○} -$ as an additional Brahmā foot, $\text{○} - \text{○}$; $\text{○} - -$ as additional Viṣṇu feet, and $\text{○} - - -$; $\text{○} - - \text{○}$; $\text{○} - \text{○} \text{○}$; $\text{○} - \text{○} -$ as additional Rudra feet.

There are thus 5 B(rahmā) feet, 10 V(iṣṇu) feet, and 20 R(udra) feet. The B feet contain 2-3 akṣaras and 3-4 mātrās, the V feet, 3-4 akṣaras and 4-6 mātrās; and the R feet, 4-5 akṣaras and 5-8 mātrās. That is to say, there is a slight variation in the number of akṣaras and also in the number of mātrās² of these miśra-ganas.

1. This proviso is necessary to prevent confusion; without it, for instance, $\text{○} \text{○} \text{○}$ (which is a Brahmā foot; see above) would have to be regarded as a Viṣṇu foot also.

2. As observed above, the miśra feet are not mātrā-ganas, and the number of mātrās contained in them is of no account so far as the metre is concerned. It is nevertheless useful to take note of them since the variation of the number of mātrās, conjoined with that of the number of akṣaras, is an almost certain indication of the presence of miśra-ganas.

In varṇa feet, the number of akṣaras and of mātrās are both constant; in mātrā feet, the number of mātrās alone is constant while that of the akṣaras varies; in miśra feet, both these numbers vary.

Now one of the characteristics that strikes the reader of the above-mentioned verses of the Tālgunda inscription is the variation in the number of akṣaras and of mātrās in their pādas. As already observed by Kielhorn, the number of mātrās in these pādas varies between 15 and 17, and that of the akṣaras between 9 and 12. This variation is so similar to that which we have noticed above in connection with the miśra-gāyas that the question obtrudes itself on our attention, "Are these pādas made up of miśra feet?"

In order to answer this, let us examine the following typical pādas chosen from these verses:

V, 3 a:	अनुपदंसु स्नेहतुल्य वृः	(11 akṣaras; 15 mātrās)
b:	काकुसव र्मविशा लवीः	(9 " " 15 ")
10 c:	अधिजिगासुः प्रदचनं निखिलम्	(12 " " 16 ")
14 a:	या न्तपालान् पङ्क्षे न्द्राणाम्	(9 " " 16 ")
b:	सहसाविनि जिल्लसे चुरे	(10 " " 15 ")
19 a:	पङ्क्षेन्द्रा वस्यश लिमिनाम्	(10 " " 16 ")
b:	वक्ष्वाप्रता पान्वया वपि	(9 " " 15 ")

All these seven pādas, containing 9, 10, 11 or 12 akṣaras and 15 or 16 mātrās, consist of a Rudra foot, followed by a Viṣṇu foot and a Brahmā foot.

This is the case with the other pādas also of these twenty-four verses, with the exception of the following four:

- 11 c: कलियुगेस्मि लहोवतक्षत्राद्
- 17 e: विषमदेवा प्रयाणसवेष-
- 21 c: प्रेहरन्तामनन्य सञ्चरण-
- 24 c: सागरमुख्यः स्वयं कदंकुले

These four pādas have the scheme RRB instead of RVB.

Thus, of the above-mentioned twenty-four verses of the Tālgunda inscription, all except nos. 11, 17, 21 and 24, have pādas following the scheme RVB and are therefore *sama-vyālas* belonging to the class of miśra-gāya metres; nos. 11, 17, 21 and

24, on the other hand, are *upajāti*¹ verses belonging to the same class of metres, with three pādas of the type RVB and one pāda (pāda c in all four cases) of the type RRB.

The verses cited above from the Tuṣām and Ajanṭā inscriptions too are *upajāti* verses; in both, pāda a follows the scheme RRB and the other three, the scheme RVB. The two verses cited by Kielhorn (p. 27 l. c.) from the *Bower Manuscript*, on the other hand, are *sama-vṛttas* with all pādas following the type RVB.

The *Rāvāṇorjñāṇya* of Bhaṭṭa-Bhīma (on Bhaṭṭa-Bhauma) contains more than seventy verses composed in a similar metre. There are however lacunae in some of them; and in others, the editors have, with justice, suggested emendations which have the effect of altering, either the number of akṣaras or their quantity. Excluding then all such verses, there remain sixty,² the number

1. The word *upajāti* is used by Sanskrit prosodists in three different senses. (1) It denotes stanzas in which pādas of the Indravajrā-vṛtta and Upendravajrā-vṛtta are mixed up. There are fourteen varieties of this *upajāti*, and they are all named and defined in the *Prākṛita-Paiśācī* (II, 121). (2) It denotes stanzas in which pādas of other different *vṛttas* belonging to the same *chandas* (Triṣṭubh, Jagatī, etc.) are mixed up. Thus, a stanza in which Vampūsthā and Indravampsā-pādes occur is such an *upajāti*. (3) It is used comprehensively to denote stanzas in which pādas of different *vṛttas*, whether belonging to the same *chandas* or different *chandases*, are mixed up. Such stanzas are called *vīśama-vṛttas* or *gāthās* also. The following stanza at the beginning of Śāṅkara's commentary on the *Māndukyopaniṣad* is an *upajāti* of this type:

yo viśvātmā vidhija-visayān prāśya bhogān sthavisṭhān
paścāc cānyān svamati-vibhavān jyotiṣā svena sūkṣmān|
sarvān etān punar āpi śanaiḥ svātmanī sthāpayitvā³
hitvā sarvān viśeṣān vigata-guṇa-ganah pātv asau nas
turiyah||

It is in this third sense that the word *upajāti* has been used above.

In Telugu prosody, the word *upajāti*, it is interesting to note, is used to denote mītra-gana verses.

2. Namely 5|35; 16|70; 19|26; 21|39; 33|23; 49|7, 8, 9; 53|37, 44; 55|60; 61|31; 64|5; 65|18; 68|43, 44; 69|49; 30|61; 33|26; 83|54; 84|55, 62; 85|63; 94|58; 97|10; 168|7; 169|15; 170|20; 22; 171|25-28, 30-33; 172|34-37, 39-42; 173|48-53; 174|54, 58; 176|68, 70; 177|80; 179|6, 8; 192|60; 203|53. Of these numbers, the first is that of the page of the Kāvyamālā edition of 1900, and the second, of the verse printed on that page.

and quantity of whose *aksaras* are certain and whose *gaṇas* can therefore be determined. In these sixty verses too, pādas of the type RVB greatly predominate; but the number of *sama-vṛittis* is only 22, and of *ardha-sama-vṛittis* (RRB, RVB; RRB; RVB) ten. The remaining verses are *upajātis*, there occurring in each verse, beside pādas of the type RVB, usually one pāda of the type RRB, and less frequently, one pāda of the type RVR, RRV, BVB, RR, RV or RB. Very rarely, there are two RVB pādas in an *upajāti* verse, and two pādas of the other types mentioned.

I cite here from this book some examples of *upajāti* verses, and one of an *ardha-sama* verse :

5|35 क्षेत्रभूमिः पञ्चगोणिरपि शतगोणिरासीन्महाफला ।
तत्र पाति पाधिवे कुतर्थीर्थसूनौ कुतात्मनि ॥

Cp. also 16|70.

19|26 यमधिशिष्ये मूरगकुलं विसयमच्यास्त चं भूपतिः स्वयम् ।
नाव्यतिष्ठत्ते बनोद्देशमन्यो नृपात्रतीक्ष्या ॥

83|54 यदवरमाप्रहायष्या योयं नृपायातिवस्तुः ।
उत्सवं करिष्यते तत्र स्वामी व्येष्टताम् ॥

172|40 तात शीघ्रं गत्वा तत्र धौता वनस्येव मारुतः ।
विवितात्य भव विपक्षात्य पौत्रस्य मोक्षेण द्विष्टतः ॥

Ch. 173|52; 171|26; 27, 30, 32, 33; 172|52; 179|8,

172|39 मास्मृष्टतात्य मान्यदीर्घश्च स्नायाः परं केवलं गुणाः ।
पौत्रस्य भवतात्यमास्मृष्टत स्नायाः परं केवलं गुणाः ॥

84|62 अस्ति नाम त्वद्विरोधो राजा यत्तरिष्यति त्वं सहिते ।
किं किलेदं पीडितं क्रीडां न करिष्यते वारिजनमनाम् ॥

The last-cited verse (84|62) is an *ardha-sama* verse whose odd and even pādas are of the type RVR and RVB respectively. The others are *upajāti* verses; and in the first three of those cited above, pādas abcd are of the type RVB while pāda c is of the type RV, RR and RB respectively¹. In 172|40, pāda a is the type RR and the rest of the type RVB, while in 172|39, the four pādas are respectively of the type RRB, RVB, RRV, RVB.

Pandits Sivadatta and K. P. Parab have given at the beginning of the above-mentioned edition of the *Rāvāñjarjunīya* two pages containing what they call a *Chanda-nidarsana-pattra*, in which they have given an explanation of the metre employed in

1. These pādas thus consist of two *gaṇas* only and not three.

twenty, out of the sixty, verses that I have referred to above. They make no mention of *mīśra-gāṇas*, but regard these verses as *vīśāna-vṛttas* with pādas composed in different *varaṇa-gāṇa* metres. Thus 5/35, for instance, contains according to them four pādas composed respectively in Pañkti-931,¹ Pañkti-332 Usūlh-75 and Pañkti-931; and 19/26, of four pādas composed in Brhatī-232, Jagalī-1320, Brhatī-299, Aneṣṭubh-165. All this is merely a description in technical language of the sequence of *laghus* and *gurus* in the two halves of the verse; the two pandits seem to have made no effort to find out if there is any characteristic common to all these verses, but regard each verse as *sui generis*. Such an explanation can be given of any verse whatsoever, of verses of the *mātrā* metre as of the *varaṇa* and *mīśra-gāṇa* metres, and it hardly deserves serious consideration.

Before leaving the subject of *mīśra-gāṇa* metres, I would like to make an observation about their relation to the metres known as *jātī* and *vṛtta*. *Jātī* is the name applied to the metres in which the moras of the syllables are taken into consideration. There are two classes of such metres, (1) *gāṇa-chandas* or *mātrā-gāṇa* metres comprising Āryā, Gīti, etc. in which the metrical units are *mātrā-gāṇas*; and (2) *mātrā-chandas* or *mātrā* metres in the narrower sense, comprising Vaitālyya, Aupacchandasika, Mātrā-samaka, etc., in which the units are, not *mātrā-gāṇas*, but single *mātrās*. Similarly, the *vṛtta* metres too consist of two classes,² (1) *varaṇa-gāṇa* metres comprising the metres in the chandases Uktā, Atyuktā, etc., and Dandakas whose units are *varaṇa-gāṇas*; and (2) *varaṇa* metres in the narrower sense, comprising Vaktra, Aparavaktra, etc. in which the units are, not *varaṇa-gāṇas*, but single *varnas*. The word *vṛtta* signifies literally 'turning', i.e., the path pursued by the pāda (or ardha) among *laghus* and *gurus*, and denotes therefore a unique arrangement or sequence of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*. The name is thus apposite in connection with *varaṇa-gāṇa* metres, since expressions like Śālinī-*vṛtta*, Mālinī-*vṛtta*, etc., can denote one arrangement only of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*. *Jātī*, on the other hand, signifies 'class, species, genus'; and it is

1. That is, the 931st, out of the 1024 forms of the Pañkti pāda of 10 syllables; and similarly in the other cases.

2. But in practice, the word *vṛtta* is laxly used in connection with the mora metres also.

appropriate in connection with the mora metres Āryā, Vaitāliya etc.; for these expressions denote, not one, but many¹ arrangements of a definite number of *laghus* and *gurus*.²

Since, as we have seen above, the miśra-gaṇas R, V and B have, like the mātrā-gaṇas (ta, tha, etc.) many forms, the combination RVB denotes in fact $20 \times 10 \times 5$ or 1000 different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*; and hence the miśra-gaṇa metres too fall under the division of *jāti* metres.

3. On pp. 177, 182 of the *Yaśastilaka* (Vol. 1) are found the following two stanzas which Somadeva himself calls mātrā:—

सकलमङ्गलवाम जयकाम कमलालय
निखिलनय शीर्यनिंद कदनैकदोहद ।
आनिगममसमानवः वैरिकाल
जय जीवकामद ॥
कुवलयोत्सवचन्द्र तृष्णतीन्द्र लक्ष्मीवर
कीर्तिसरदमृतवृष्टिपञ्चवित्तबुधयन ।
आमुखनमभिमानधन धैर्यसदन
जय विहितसदवन ॥

In Śrutasāgara's explanation of the first verse, his words describing the nature of its metre are lost; on p. 182, he merely writes *mātrā-chanda idam*. It is difficult to determine from the verses themselves whether they are *dviṣṭpadis* with 40 (41) and 78 (79) moras in each half, or *catusṭpadis* containing in the four

1. As stated by Halāyudha (p. 83 of above-cited edition), there are 80 varieties of the *Āryā*; that is, the term *Āryā* can be used in connection with 80 different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*.

2. But the inclusion of varna metres proper, that is, of Vaktra, etc., in the *vṛtta* class is not correct, as Vaktra, for instance, can denote several different arrangements of *laghus* and *gurus*. Similarly, the inclusion of the mora metres Gityāryā, Jyotiś, and Saunya (regarding the description of these metres, see *Pīṅgala-chandas-sūtra*, 4-47, 49, 50) under *jāti* too, is incorrect as these expressions can denote but one arrangement of *gurus* (all, and *laghus*). The Āryā varieties Lakṣmi, Rddhi, Buddhi, etc. that are described in the *Prākṛta-Pāīṅgala* (1, 58 ff.) are all, properly speaking, *vṛttas* and not *jātis*; for these terms can denote but one arrangement of *laghus* and *gurus*.

pādas 21 (22), 20 (21), 18 (19) and 9 (10) moras, or a different number of moras. This metre is not described in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala*; nor, so far as I know, are instances of its use met with elsewhere.

4. On pp. 178, 183, *op. cit.*, are found the following two verses which Somadeva calls *Catuṣpādī*:

इति महति भवति किञ्चिद्दामि निःशेषस्तु तो पारवामि ।
वक्तुं त्वदीयगुणग्रिमधाम सर्वज्ञवचनविषयं हि नाम ॥
तृप नहति भवति किञ्चिद्दिरामि वक्तुं गुणमखिलं नोरुरामि ।
दीर्घिरुमणेरवनीश यत्र का शक्तिः काचमणेहि तत्र ॥

The *Catuṣpādī* described in the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 67-69) consists of four pādas of 30 moras each or 120 moras each, while another described on p. 112 of the above-mentioned edition of *Paiṅgala-chandassūtra* contains 24 moras only in each pāda. The pādas of the above two verses, however, consist of four feet of four moras each. The *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 126) calls this metre by the name of *Pajjhaliyā* (*Pajjhaliyā*) which is differently rendered into Sanskrit as *Paryatikā*, *Pajjhati* and *Projjhati* (*yathendur amṛtam projjhati evaṇi projjhatiḥkaśabdo 'pyamṛtam kṣaraśūtyarthah*) by the commentators; and this seems to show that the correct Sanskrit term had gone out of use at the time when these commentaries were written. Now, on pp. 178-180 and 183-188 *op. cit.*, Somadeva gives 28 verses which he calls *Paddhatikā* and whose pādas consist of four feet of four moras each; but the last foot is not invariably \textcircled{u} — \textcircled{u} . Thus, for instance, pādas ab of verse 178 end in \textcircled{u} \textcircled{u} — ; and so do pādas ab of verse 211. According to the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 129), the metre of these two verses is *Pādākulaka* and not *Pajjhaliyā*.

Similarly Somadeva gives on pp. 181, 189 *op. cit.*, the following two verses which he calls *Ghattā*:

इति तुष्टजनकामः कौडितरामः सकलभुक्तनपतिषूजित ।
कृत्युष्टजनकामः क्षितिपतिरामस्त्वमिहू चिरं जय विश्रुत ॥
तृप तृपतीचर भूरमणीचर यदिदमखिलगुणसंशय ।
उक्तं किञ्चित्क्षस्तुतिकृतिचित्तचित्रं न महोदय ॥

According to the *Prākṛta-Paiṅgala* (I, 99), the *Ghattā* consists of two halves with 31 moras each. The first only of

the above two verses satisfies this definition; the second, on the other hand, has only 29 moras in each half, and is an example of Culiyālā, defined in *Prākyta-Patiṅgala*, 1, 167.

This difference in nomenclature between Somadeva and the author of the *Prākṛita-Patiṅgala* is indeed remarkable; and it is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the latter lived at least 300 years later than the former. It is however difficult to understand why Somadeva himself has called two verses Catuspadi and twenty-six other verses, that are exactly similar to them, Paddhatikā¹.

1. On p. 161 of the Kannada *Poñcatantra* of Durgasimha is found the catuspadi stanza ;jaya divija-gaṇārcita-cāru-carana duritogra-tamah-paṭaśoṇa-kirāṇa|tāpiñcha-sama-cchavi-nīla-varṇa vidyādhara-kāntāgīta-varṇa|| which is followed by six similar stanzas on pp. 162-3 and are called *Paddaji* by Durgasimha. Each pāda of these stanzas consists of four feet of four moras each; and since *paddaji* seems to be a *tadbhava* of *paddhati*, the use of the name Paddhatikā for stanzas of this type is attested by Durgasimha also.

As we have seen above, the lines of the Mandānila-ragaṇe too consist of four feet of four moras each; but while the Paddhatikā is a catuspadi, there is no limit to the number of lines that may constitute a Mandānila stanza.

It is therefore interesting to note in this connection that the editors of the *Poñcatantra* in question have looked on the seven Paddali verses referred to above as forming but one stanza. That is to say, while the author calls the verses *Paddaji* and therefore regards them as catuspadis, the editors (unconsciously?) look on them as Mandānila-ragaṇe.

THE NĀMPALI GRANT OF YUVARĀJA
RĀJENDRA VARMA, GĀNGA YEAR 314.*

BY

K. A. NILAKANTRA SASTRI, M.A.

*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*

The plates now edited belong to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library; when my attention was drawn to them some time ago, I found on a cursory examination, that they contained an interesting early Gāṅga record, and I at once applied to the curator of the library for a loan of the plates; he readily placed them at my disposal, and I edit the record from the original plates.

The record comprises three rectangular plates $8'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, the first and last plates being engraved only on the inner side; the plates are thick and the engraving is fairly clear though not deep. The ring fastening the plates is cut and is about $4\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and $4\frac{1}{10}''$ thick; the seal has disappeared.

The alphabet resembles that of other early Gāṅga records and shows a slight admixture of nāgari, and the language of the record is Sanskrit with many mistakes and perhaps an admixture of the local dialect. The record shares the usual features of Gāṅga records in its orthography as will be seen by a perusal of the notes to the text. The bulk of the inscription is in prose; the two usual imprecatory verses said to be cited from Vyāsa are in the *amṛtubh* metre (ll. 24-27), and verse in *Vasantatilakā* that follows is defective in the latter half.

Opening with the usual Kaliṅga Gāṅga *prāśasti* (ll. 1-12), the record mentions Yuvarāja Śri Rājendra-Varma, the son of Ana (nta) varma. It should be noted that this is the first record of the Early Kaliṅga Gāṅgas to mention a Yuvarāja by the side of the ruling sovereign. The object of the grant is to record the

*This paper formed the subject of a communication made to the Archaeological society of South India at its meeting held on 13-2-35.

gift, in perpetuity, by the Yuvarāja, of the village of Nāmpali in the Nidijeru-viṣaya, freed from all taxes and imposts, for the spiritual merit of the donor and his parents. The donee is called Sāmirāja, the son of Śri Guṇamārāja, an ornament of the Ayankula (ll. 13-18). The boundaries of the village are then described (ll. 19-23). Then follow two verses from Vyāsa, the usual imprecation (ll. 23-27); a third verse, rather corrupt in the latter half, announces the donor's wish that his successors, whether they be kings of his own line or another, should protect this charity (ll. 27-30). The date follows, only the year in the Gaṅga era being given in the words: *Samvachara Satataye Caturdasotare*. (ll. 30-31). The grant was composed by Mahā-sandhivigrahi Rāha Śri Śākuntala and engraved by Śri Dāmacandra. (ll. 31-32).

The date *Satataye caturdasotare* is in itself somewhat confusing; because *Satataye* lends itself to two emendations, *Satataame* and *Satatrāye*. The latter is, however, the correct form; because we have another grant,¹ dated in the Gaṅga year 342 in which Rājendra-varma figures as the ruling king, which makes it probable that he was Yuvarāja twenty-eight years earlier, 314—the date of the present record. Further in 304 (Gaṅga era) we have a grant of Anantavarman². Moreover 114 will be too early a date for our record judging from its paleography. Again, a son of Sāmirāja, the donee of our grant, is also mentioned in the grant of 342 just mentioned. If these identifications of the persons mentioned in the two sets of plates are correct, we may correct the name of Rājendra's father given as Anavarma (l. 13) in our record into Ana (nta) varma. The initial year of the Gaṅga era is now generally taken to be 495-6 A. D.,³ and our record will therefore be of 809-10 A. D.

TEXT.

PLATE I.

1. [ओं] स्वस्तिमरपुराणकारिणि सर्वतुमुखरमणीया-
2. द्विजयवते कलिङ्गनगरवासकान्महेन्द्राचलाम-

1. No. 18 of 1917-18; *ARE*, 1918, II 15.

2. *EI*, iii, p. 17.

3. *Indian Antiquary*, 1932 p. 237.

1. Spiral at the beginning of the line.

2. Read स्वस्त्यः

3. Read पुराणकारिणः

4. Read वतः:

3. लशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सच्चराचरणुरासेकलमुद्दे-
4. ननिर्माणकसुत्रधारस्य शशाङ्कचुडामणे-
5. मैगवतो गोकर्णस्वामिन धरणयुगलप्र-
6. णामाद्विगतकलिकलहानकाहवसञ्ज्ञाभैजानत-
7. जयशब्दप्रतापायनतसमस्तसामन्तचकचूडाम-
8. णिप्रभामङ्गरपुङ्गरश्चित्वरचरणसितकुमुद-

PLATE II (a).

9. कुन्देन्दूवदातादिमिदेशविनिगतयस्मै वस्तारातिकुला-
10. चलो नवविनयदयादानदक्षिण्यसौर्योदीर्घसप्त-
11. ल्यागादिगुणसम्पदाधारभूतो गङ्गा[.]मलकुलतिल-
12. कनहाराजथी अन[न्ते]वर्मभुन्युवरंराजथीराजे-
13. नदवर्मं कुलाली निदिजेहविषये नाम्पलिग्राम-
14. कुदुम्बजनपल् समाजापयति विदितमस्तु वो
15. भवता यतोयं प्राम^{१६} सर्वकरभरपरिइल्या-
16. चन्द्रार्कप्रतिष्ठा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्यामि[ह]

5. Read गुरोस्तकल

6. ए has been engraved twice over and the च sign overlaps the following च.

7. Read गृष्म and चूडा.

8. Read गोकर्ण.

9. Read संक्षोपम.

10. Read शब्द.

11. Read चरणः The letter ए has been engraved twice, the first time in continuation of उ.

12. Read दिग्देशविनिगतपद्मः

13. Read दाक्षिण्यशौर्यो-

14. Read सत्तुर्जुव.

15. Read वर्मां.

16. Read अनपदान.

16a. Read यं प्रामः

17. Read पुन्या.

PLATE II (6).

17. दद्ये अयनकुलतिलकशीगुणमराजसनुश्रीसा-
18. मिराजस्य सलिलधारापुरस्वरेण॑ प्रतिपादित' अ-
19. त्र च सामालिङ्गानि लिहियन्ते²² पूर्वस्थि²³ देशि नवा ततो प्-
20. वंदक्षिणमध्ये उसरतिन्त ततो दक्षिणस्य²⁴ दिशि अ
21. पि खण्डवनराजिक ततो पक्षिमस्य दिशि तडा-
22. कस्यद्वयगुण्डेरिवापि तृकृटबुरजखण्डख ततो उत्तर²⁵
23. स्य²⁶ दिशि बनरजिका²⁷ बठवृक्षकदम्बवृ[क्षै]अ अस्य च व्यास
24. गिता शिलोका²⁸ भ[वै]न्ति बहुभिर्वंदुधा दता²⁹ राजमि³⁰ सुगरादि-

PLATE III.

25. मि यस्य यस्य यदा मुमि तस्य तस्य तदा फलं
26. स्वदत्ता परदत्तान्वा यो हरेति³¹ बसुन्धरा³² स विष्णा-

18. Read पुरस्करण.

19. Read प्रतिपादितः.

20. Read लिप्यन्ते.

21. Letters पूर्व written over an erasure. Read पूर्वस्यां.

22. Read दीक्षास्यां.

23. पथि and दि written over an erasure. Read पथिमाया.

24. Read उच्चर.

25. Read स्यां.

26. Read राजिका.

27. Read गीता: लोका.

28. Read बहुभि.

29. Read दत्ता.

30. Read राजमिस्त-

31. Read मि:

32. Read भूमि:

33. Read हरेत.

34. Read बसुन्धरा.

27. यो कुमिभूत्वा³⁵ पितृभिरु³⁶ सह पर्यते मदंशशाजा³⁷ पर-
28. महीपतिवज्ञशाजावा पापादपेत्य³⁸ मनसो मुचि भा-
29. व³⁹ भूया ये पालयन्ति मम धर्मवरं असेसतव्य
30. मया विरचिताङ्गलिमे सनुष्ठगोङ्गेयवज्ञशाप्रवर्द्धमानविजय-
31. राज्यसम्बद्ध शततये⁴⁰ चतुर्दशोतरे⁴¹ लिखितमेदं माहासन्धि-
32. विप्रहि⁴² रह श्रीसामन्तेन उल्कीण्ण⁴³ न चाक्षसाडिना श्रीदाम-
- चन्द्रेण⁴⁴



35. Read कुमिभूत्वा.
36. Read पितृभिस्त्वह.
37. Read मदंशशाजाः.
38. Read पेत.
39. Read माचि.
40. Read somewhat like: ये पालयन्ति मम धर्मवरं विशेषान्तेभ्यो मया ताङ्गलिरेकमय,
41. Read शततये.
42. Read दशोतरे.
43. Read महासान्धिप्रहिक.
44. Read उल्कीण्ण.
45. Read चन्द्रेण.

SEMANTIC DIVERGENCIES IN INDO-ARYAN LOAN WORDS IN SOUTH DRAVIDIAN.

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER, M.A., B.L.,
Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

Continued from Vol. VIII, Part iii, page 266.

23. *dāṇḍam* 'fine' 'punishment'.

Mal. usage shows new meanings for the adaptation *dāṇḍam*.¹

(i) 'pain' 'suffering'.—

*ēdume dāṇḍam-illāda harmam mama mādāv-inikku
vidhiccadu nappailō²* (it was well that my mother decreed for me
a duty so free from suffering)—ER, Ayodhyākāṇḍam.

rātri-y-il kāppu hāṇmān dāṇḍamill-avarkaliku (they have
no difficulty in exercising their power of vision at night)—PT,
III, 18.

(ii) *dēha dāṇḍam* which originally meant 'bodily labour'
is restricted in many Mal.—speaking areas to 'the labour of cooks
while making preparations for an extensive feast'. The com-
pound is often contracted to *dēhanḍam*; and the idea of 'labour'
is sometimes lost sight of, the phrase then being equated to 'the
service of cooks in connection with a feast'.

(iii) A unique development, met with only in the mass-
colloquial, is the meaning 'disease' 'scourge' (<'bodily suffering').
 Cf. *dīnam* (discussed below) for a similar evolution of meaning.

*dāṇḍavum dīnavum piḍicou, valarē ḍūgala ḍyāṭṭil
marikkungu* (many people are dying in that land, stricken with
diseases)—colloquial.

24. *dāhah* 'burning' 'feverish heat' 'conflagration'.

'Thirst' is a signification appearing for this word in Tam.,
Mal., Kann. and Tel. The word appears in literary texts with
this meaning.

1. *sw*-of Mal. *dāṇḍam* is due to nasal assimilation characteristic of Mal., as in *khanḍam* (piece) adapted from OIA *khaṇḍa*.

2. I have used the symbol *g* with a dash below to denote the dental variety of this consonant. Dental *g* is an independent phoneme in Mal. In the previous instalment of my paper, the alveolar nasal of some Tam. and Mal. illustrations has been wrongly printed with a dash mark below.

Tam. *paci lāham*—Tāyumāṇavar's songs
[University Selections, p. 434.]

Mal. *veʃʃam kōri kuḍicez-avar dāhatte tītū* (quenched their thirst by drinking water)—KG, Kāl., I, 46.

Kann. *dāha goʃʃ*—(to become thirsty)—only in north Mysore,
Tel. *dāhāñki pōyāññ* (he went to take liquid refreshments).

Tam. *lāham* (sometimes appearing in the speech of the lowest classes as *tōvam*) and Mal. *dāham* are indispensable words of daily use signifying 'thirst' in the colloquials of these speeches. The adaptation does not appear to be quite so commonly used for 'thirst' in the other south Dravidian colloquials; Kann.¹ has *nir-aḍikke*, Tel. *niru waffu* or *dappi* and Tuju has *tiruṣa* (OIA *trṣā* 'thirst').

25. *dīna* 'wretched' 'distressed'.

This is another word for which unique meanings appear in Mal., beside the older OIA significations.

(i) The word as used in the following citations has to be evaluated as 'pity':

dīnam-eggiye kōppu (killed without pity)—EBh.

dīnam-illādavaykkhu dīnaril kī payundāmō (would those who have no sense of pity feel for the lowly and the wretched?)

(ii) *dīnam* means 'disease' in the modern colloquial of Mal. Though this meaning does not occur commonly² in the old classical texts, I have found an instance of the use of *dīnam* with the meaning 'bodily illness or weakness' in the fourteenth century (?) Rāmakāthā-p-pāṭṭu:

tāymār mūvarkkum dīnam-aya auṣadaṅgal ceydu uḍalai tēttuvārām (they tended the bodies of the three wives of

1. Kann. *dāvura*, means 'thirst', 'desire', 'need'; *dāvara* means 'burning' also besides these significations. These forms appear to be borrowings from MIA or NIA speeches. Whether the OIA source-form is *tāpa* or *dāha*, I cannot say. Indo-aryanists could probably shed light on this point.

2. The following from eighteenth-century Kuñjan's works would perhaps illustrate the stage of transition from 'lowly, wretched' to 'sick, diseased' in Mal.:—

mēniyum meliññati-dinan-øyidu (his body became shrunk, and he looked wretched)—OT, p. 215.

dīnamārum kālinu mudakkullōr kannu kānadz-y-ullōr (weak-bodied men, the lame and the blind)—PT, III, lines 53, 54,

Daśaratha, by giving them medicines calculated to remedy their bodily weakness or illness)—RP, Bāl., 6.

This meaning, however, is essentially a colloquial one, not usually found introduced even in late texts like PT and OT; VP, however, has *alyantam dīna-r-um kaimakkalū* (the *kaimal* is stricken with dire disease)—I, p. 64.

26. *dēsyam* 'hatred' 'enmity'.

The adaptation *dēsyam* in modern Mal. colloquial means only 'anger' without any idea of 'enmity' being necessarily involved: *yajamānam vēlakkārānōḍu dēsyā-p-peṭtu* (the master got angry with his servant). The older texts use the word only in the OIA sense: cf. Bh.G, IX, 4.

Cf. colloquial Tam. *āṅgāram* 'anger' from OIA *aham-kāra*.

27. *nirvāṇa* 'liberation'.

This word means 'nakedness', 'nudity' (<liberation from the bonds of dress) in the colloquials of Tam., Kann., Tel. and Tuju. The OIA meaning is of course also current in literature. The 16th century Tam. SN gives recognition to the meaning 'nakedness' in as much as it equates *nirvāṇi* to *makkay* [from IA *nagna*] 'a nude person'.

Cf. Tam. *ammāṇam* 'nakedness', ultimately traceable to IA *śramaṇaḥ*.

In Tamil colloquial, one also hears the form *nirmāṇam* used with the meaning 'nakedness'. I think that there is some "confusion" here, both structural and semantic, between *nirvāṇam* and *nirmāṇam* (dishonourable, disgraceful).

28. *pāḍam* 'sin' 'evil'.

(i) The association of the idea of 'pity' with this word when used in contexts like *ayyō pāvam* [Tam.] and *ayyō pāpa* [Kann.] does not appear to be strictly sanctioned by OIA usage. In Mal. the word *pāḍam* denotes 'luckless' 'pliable' 'desitute of good fortune' in literary texts and in the colloquial. A recent translation of Victor Hugo's novel *Les Misérables* is entitled *pāva-nīṇai*.

Colloquial *ayḍi-oru pāvam ḍiṇu* would mean 'he is a harmless, innocent fellow.'

(ii) In the Mal. colloquial of the present day, *pāvam* has also come to signify 'poor in worldly possessions' 'not rich', as in *dhanavāṇimārum pāva-p-peṭṭavarum* (the rich and the poor).

29. *pramāda* 'intoxication' 'carelessness'.

In Tamil colloquial the word means 'excess', while in Kann. colloquial it signifies 'misfortune', 'distress' 'danger'. Marāṭhi *pranāda* signifies 'misfortune' 'distress'.

30. *prasādak* 'offering of food, etc. sanctified by being offered to the gods'.

Tam. *sādām* (boiled rice, taken as daily food)—SN, XI and NN, S. 400.

Tel. *sādām*.

, *pasādām* (food)—Āndhrañāmasaṅgraham, II, 27.

These forms are adapted from a NIA representative of OIA *prasāda* 'sanctified offering'. Tam. *sādām* is common enough in the colloquial; Tel. *pasādām* is literary, while *sādām* (I am told) is used only by Vaiśnavas in certain localities of Āndhra desa, the more common and popular colloquial Tel. form for 'boiled rice, taken as daily food' being OIA *annam*.

Cf. Tam. *sāppid-* (to have a meal), literary Tel. *sāpad-* and *pasāpad-*, all of which I derive from original *prasāda-pād-* (see my "Dravidic 'Eating' and 'Drinking'" in IHQ).

The use of *sādām* and *sādām* in the language particularly of Brahmins is perhaps traceable to the practice (more common formerly than now) of sanctifying the most important item of their daily dietary by offering it to the household gods before being used.

For the structural peculiarities of the adaptations in Tam. and Tel., one may compare Kann. *sāda* signifying 'clearness, purity' [OIA *prasāda*] and Kann. *pasāda* 'gracious present of clothes' [OIA *prasāda*].

31. *baddha* 'bound' 'tied'.

The Mal. compound *baddha-p-ped-*, compounded of the loan *baddha* and the help-verb *ped-*, means 'to hurry'; there is also the noun *baddha-p-pāḍu* (hurry). Eluttacean (16th century) used *baddha-p-pedukk-* with the meaning 'to bind as a captive' in ER; but Kūñjan (18th century) has used it in several contexts with the more modern meaning 'to hurry':

adi vēgam badiha-p-pejju bhramiccu nadayyu (walked perplexed in hot haste)—OT, p. 379.

baddha-p-pejj-inilane pōyyad-endu (why have you come in such haste?—VP, I, p. 1.

In the modern colloquial, *baddha-p-ped* means only 'to hurry', and *baddha-p-pāḍu*, the noun corresponding to it, signifies 'hurry' or 'urgent business'.

32. *baudhā* 'a buddhist'.

This word has come to mean 'a non-Hindu (who is a bitter antagonist of Hinduism)' in modern Malayālam. In British Malabar, it denotes a 'Mopla Moslem', while Gundert cites VD (compiled by Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries from materials gathered in the southern part of Cochin state) as equating *baudhan* to 'a christian'.

The old work Kēralōlpatti describes in the second chapter (Mangalore edition, p. 15) the legend of a Malabar *Perumāl* (an early King of Kēraja) having embraced *baudhamatam* and gone to Macca (Mecca?). This work refers to *baudhanmār* always with extreme contempt. In the sixth chapter it equates *baudhanmār* to *jōnakar* (cf. OIA *yavanaka*), and as *jōnakar* in modern Mal. means generally Moslems, the story of the *Perumāl*'s change of faith (recorded in the second chapter of this work) is usually interpreted as conversion to Mahomedanism.

In modern usage, *baudhan* in Mal. generally denotes (except in British Malabar) 'a non-Hindu' or 'an opponent of Hinduism'. There seems to be little doubt that the contempt underlying the use of the word in Mal. primarily reflected the animosity felt by orthodox Hindus towards Buddhism. One may in this connection remember that the Malayālam country was the native land of Śaṅkara, the great Hindu philosopher, who many a time tilted his lance against the exponents of Buddhism.¹

The following are other illustrations of the use of the word in the sense of 'a non-Hindu' or 'an antagonist of Hinduism':

Kṣetrasthānañīñālku adhikāram baudhanu koñakkunna mannan mahāmūḍhan (the king who allows a 'Buddha' to be a temple dignitary is a great fool)—PT, I, l. 212.

nicanmārām baudha jātiyanmārku (to the 'Buddhas' who are *nicas*)—PT, I, l. 217.

1. These unique semantic developments illustrate the strong influence of IA on Mal. Adaptations current in common Mal., like the following, are noteworthy:—

puccham 'contempt' <' what is insignificant' [OIA 'tail']

mati 'sufficiency' [from a very early period; cf. KR, I, 36].—OLA 'understanding', etc.

kasti 'insufficiency' [OIA *kasta* 'difficult'].

bauddhanmāre-k-kandāl dēham-asiuddham - adennu kuļicē pōrū (he would never fail to take a bath for removing the pollution of the sight of 'Buddhas')—Pātracaritam, p. 192.
 (University Inter. Selections.)

bauddhane sēviccū jīvikkayekkādīfil, ārdhvam valiccu marikka tāne ūbhām (better far to die than to serve a *bauddha*)—PT, II, 204, 205.

33. *bhaṅgi* 'bending' 'undulation' 'wavy'.

Modern Mal. *bhañhi* [-ñ- < ñg by nasal assimilation; cf. *aññani* 'limb' < OIA *añga*] is 'beauty'.

The word is used commonly in the fifteenth and sixteenth century texts with reference to the curve-like features or movements of the bodies of beautiful women: *aññana tannude-y-aññanamalellāme bhañhi-y-il kāyēpam-eggu uappi* (desirous of seeing the beautiful curves of the woman's body)—KG, Rugm., I, 965.

aññanā maṇi-y-nde añña-bhañhi (the wavy comeliness of the jewel among women) KG.

aññanamārum-āy-aññane bhañhi-y-il uīngu viśatiñnum-apyāl (that day when he was radiant with beauty with the women standing thus by his side)—KG, Vals., I, 157.

From this association of the word with the undulatory comeliness of feminine features, the general sense¹ of 'beauty' should gradually have arisen:

bhañhi-y-il-aññu uādaṇṇu-loḍañni (began to walk beautifully)—Pradosamāhātmyam, I, 1438.

aññanamārude saññita bhañhi-y-um (the charm of women's songs)—Dhruvacaritam (University Inter. Selections, p. 202.)

bhañhi-y-il kuri-y-iflu (put the caste mark in a fine way)—EBH, Sambhava.

bhañhi kalaṇṇuulla vārttakāl (nice words), Ceruśsēri Bhāratam.

34. *bhrānti* 'perplexity'.

Modern Mal. *bhrāntu* or *pirantu* is 'madness' 'demented state of mind'.

pēyum pīrāntum—PT, II, I, 288.

bhrāntu pīḍicco? (struck with madness ?)—Pradosamāhātmyam, I, 467.

1. Even today, *bhañhi* in Mal. is used by scholars only in contexts which imply some kind of 'symmetrical beauty'.

35. *mātrikā* 'source' 'original'.

Mādirī in all south Dravidian speeches means 'sample', 'specimen', 'sort'. It appears to be a very early loan (from MIA?). While OIA *mātrikā* is the 'mother-source' *mādirī* is but a 'daughter specimen'.

36. *mōsaḥ* 'thief'.

Tam., Mal. *mōsam*, Tel. *mōsa*, *mōsamu*, Kann., Tulu *mōsa* signify 'trick', 'deceit', 'loss', 'fault' and even 'danger'. These are very common words in the south Dravidian speeches:

Tam. *mōsam pāṇṇādē* (do not thou employ thy tricks).

, *kaimōsam vandadū* (there was a loss from one's hand or possession).

Mal. *mōsam yinnunde kāryani aks̄am* (your affairs are all in a flounder)—OT, p. 227.

Mal. *buddhi-mōsattāl* (on account of a mistake of judgment)—OT, p. 258.

Kann. *avana prāṇakke mōsa-u-illa* (there is no danger to his life).

Kann. *kōmaṭi mōsa hōgivadilla, mōsa hōdare hōgivadilla* (the *kōmaṭi* is never deceived; if by chance he is, then he keeps silent about it)—Kann. Proverb.

Tel. *mōsa-puccē* (to deceive)—SN, 42.

, *mōsa-pō* (to be deceived).

37. *vād-* 'to speak'.

vādaḥ 'speech'.

ōd-, an ancient borrowing from IA, exists in all south Dravidian speeches with the following meanings:

'to recite *mantras*', 'to chant sacred hymns';

'to read scriptures', 'to read' (in a general sense);

'to utter' 'to speak'.

Tam. *ācāryar mantram ōdi, pāṭīvastraṅgaṭai koḍuttār* (the priest presented the silk cloths to the accompaniment of the chanting of *mantras*)—Brahmins' colloquial.

kādalīgi-k-haśindu kāyigir malgi-y-ōduvār (those who recite or repeat the word *namaśīraya* in love and in tears)... Sambandar's Hymns.

Tam. 'to read scriptures'—*ōdiyum-uṣara māṭṭēy* (though I read the Vedas, I fail to understand)—Tirunāvukkaraśu's Songs.

Tam. 'to speak'—*ōdariya śugarpōla*.

Mal. 'to recite mantras'—*vēdām̄ ḫduyya pānibārimār* (the Nambūdiri Brahmins who recite *vedas*)—Common in this context in the colloquial.

ōdikkān̄ parayuṇṇad-ōkka ḫttalla (all that the religious preceptor says is not gospel truth)—Proverb.

Mal. 'to read'—*bālāgaraī pala kavīnūl pallitannil̄ ḫda wāttu* (having initiated his children's education by making them read the works of many poets in the school)—RP, Bāl., VI.

ōdi-y-ellōsa uṣarndanārām̄ (they understood everything)—RP, Bāl., VI.

'to utter'—*vārttagal̄-iññine latīnañl̄-aṇṇonyam̄-᳚duyyēram̄* (while engaged in this mutual exchange of words)—Cerusseri Bhāratam (University Inter. Selections, p. 295).

tan̄ vēdayai-y-ōdīyāl̄ (she gave expression to her pain by saying . . .)—KG, I, I, 60.

Kann. 'to recite scriptures'—*elīl̄ vēdāvan̄ ēdīdālānu anū-
cānan̄ embudu* (*anūcānan̄* is he who recites all Vedas)—cited by Kittel.

Kann. 'to read'—*ā pustakā ḫdarē, bāl̄ā prayojana-v-illa* (there is not much use in reading that book)—common colloquial.

ōd- has gone out of use in the modern Tam. colloquial except in two contexts: 'reciting of *mantras* by priests on ceremonial occasions' in the Brahmins' dialect, and 'whispering a secret into another's ears'.

Mal. ḫd- is used in the colloquial only in connection with the recitation of scriptures, as by Nambūdris'. Mal. ḫtu is 'recitation of Vedas' to-day, and ḫdikkān̄ is a 'religious preceptor'.

In Kann. and Tuju colloquials, ḫd- is an indispensable form for 'to read'.

38. *vyākhyāna* 'explanation' 'commentary.'

vakkōpam̄ adapted (though, MIA) means in Mal. 'contentious argument', 'quarrel'. Tam. *vakkayai* 'idle talk' also appears to be connected. Rājendra Cōla inscriptions use *vakkōniptēg* only in the older sense "for explaining".

39. *vah-* 'to carry'.

Mal. uses the OIA verb-base for constructing certain formations of its own in the generalised sense of 'being able' 'being proper'.

Older *vah-i-y-d* [*vah-*, the OIA base; *-i-*, the suffix of the denominative verb; *y*, the glide; and *d*, the negative affix of

Dravidian] and its contraction *vayyād* have come to denote the aoristic idea of 'not-able':

avann-ōdnevān vayyād ('to-him for-running not-able' i.e., he is unable to run.)

A relative participle *vayyātta* or *vayyāda* is current, as in *vayyāda kāryāññāl ceyyarudu* (things that one cannot fulfil should not be undertaken).

In the colloquial, *vayyād* also implies 'impropriety' 'prohibition, as in *ivide naññakkuvān vayyād* (walking is prohibited here).

A future form *vayyāf* [with the affix -f] is also heard in expressions like *ayō/hē vayyāf* (he alone can do it).

vahiyā, the full negative form, and *vayyād*, its contraction, are both found in the literary texts of the modern period (i.e., from the sixteenth century downwards); the modern colloquial uses only the contracted forms. *vayyād-ullā* occurs in OT, p. 372; and VP, III, p. 75 has *talakuttum paniyum kōñdu vahiyē enikkavida kidayū-uññāññā* (on account of headache and fever I cannot sleep there).

40. *vācana* 'reading'.

Tam. *vāsi-* and Mal. *vāyi* are forms which have replaced older *ōd-* signifying 'to read'.

Tam. *vāśittal*, *padipp-ōdal* [*paryāyas* for 'reading']—NN, 672.

Mal. *oru bhaññācāryanōdu* *kāññe vayyū vāyiccu* (read with a learned *bhaññācārya*) K, III, p. 20 (Mangalore edition).

The forms denote not only the 'reading of a book' but also the 'sounding of a musical instrument' both in Tam. and in Mal.

Tam. *vāśittalai valla pāpan* (the songster who could sound his instrument)—Naccipārkiniyar's commentary on lines 36 and 37 of *Sīgupāññāgruppādai* of PP.

Tam. *uññakkai vāśippāy oruvagum, mattalām vāśippāy oruvagum* (one person for sounding *uññakkai*; and another for playing on the *mattalām*)—SII, II, Part II, p. 253.

Mal. *vīga vāyikkuka, hārmōniāt vāyikkuka* (to play on the *vīga* and on the harmonium).

Mal. *vīrayum vāyiccu* (played on the *vīpa*)—EBh, Sabhā.

This use of the forms leads me to query whether there may not have been some influence here of MIA *vāj* (OIA *vādyā*). I may also observe that Mal. has the noun *vāyana* which means 'reading' or 'playing on a musical instrument'.

MIA appears to have had both *vācana* 'reading' and *rājana* 'sounding of musical instruments'.

41. *sakārah* 'a character in the Sanskrit drama Mṛcchakaṭīka'.

Mal. *sakāram* (abuse) and *sakāri-* (to rebuke, abuse) are very common forms in the modern colloquial. I do not know when and in what circumstances these forms were coined and popularised. None of the other Dravidian speeches possess cognates or similar forms. These are certainly not native.

The Mal. forms are probably connected with *sakārah*, the name of a vulgar-minded *śyāla* of the king in the Sanskrit drama Mṛcchakaṭīka.

42. *Sikṣā* 'study' 'instruction'.

(i) All the south Dravidian speeches show the meaning 'punishment' for the adaptations. This meaning occurs in ancient literary texts, beside the OIA meaning; in the colloquials, however, the adaptations mean only 'punishment.' It is noteworthy that among the NIA speeches Marāṭhi shows this semantic development.

(ii) In Mal., *sikṣa* (and *ikṣa* in Nambūdiri Mal.) mean 'excellence' 'goodness' 'propriety'¹ (<'proper instruction or study':—

sikṣayōd-aññū dharikka manassil (understand the thing well)—OT, p. 261.

sikṣayil ketiśidēṇam (should be built properly)—Kēraḷavarma Rāmāyaṇam (University Selections, p. 93).

sikṣayil-aññi-agiyiccoru samayē (when it was communicated in the proper way)—OT, p. 205.

bhikṣakkulla pālram-afisam sikṣayil vattani kūḍidēṇam (the arrangements for the *bhikṣā* should be made in the proper way)—Pātracaritam (University Selections, p. 196).

sikṣayū ḡaṭhikkuga (to learn well)—VD cited by Gundert in his Dictionary.

an-ikṣa-y-ō (the meal was an excellent one) in the language of the Nambūdiris.

1. The transition of meaning is illustrated by instances like *euialavanmar sikṣayil Rāmāyaṇam colliyār* (Kuka and Lava recited the story of Rāmāyaṇa in a well-taught way)—EBh. Āraṇya.

43. *Sunṭhi* 'dry ginger'.

From the time of Kuñjan (18th century), *sunṭhi kaḍi*, *sunṭhikk-* (to fall into a temper) and *sunṭhi* (violent temper) have been very common forms in Mal.

sunṭhi kaḍi- literally means 'to bite dry ginger'; by a process of semantic transference, the meaning 'to show violent temper' appears to have been evolved already in Kuñjan's time (18th century). The same writer uses *sunṭh-i-kk-* as a denominative verb with the developed meaning, and *sunṭhi* (violent temper) as a noun.

sunṭhiccu napporu samayē (at the time when he came in a fit of temper)—OT, p. 134.

sunṭhiccu purappettu ṣanṭhakk-anṭh-orumbeṭṭu (having, prepared for a fight in a fit of temper)—OT, 116.

sunṭhi kaḍikkum (will fall into a temper)—Pradoṣamāhātmyam, l. 1469.

43. *śramayaḥ* 'ascetic'.

The Tamil colloquial forms *ammāṇam* (nakedness, obscenity), *ammāṇa-i-tonṭi*, *ammāṇa-h-kattai*, *ammāṇa-h-kunṭi* (naked fellow) are cases of popular semantic evolution from the meaning 'Jaina ascetics (who are often nude)' which *ammāṇa-l-tār* has in literary Tamil. The form *ammāṇa* appears to have been borrowed from a MIA representative of OIA *śramayaḥ*.

44. *sandhiḥ* 'union' 'joint' 'peace'

The adaptations of this word in the south Dravidian speeches evidence the following chief developments of meaning:

In the colloquials of Tam., Kann. and Tuju, the adaptations [Tam. *śandu* and Kann., Tuju *sandu*] mean 'hips' and 'narrow street or lane'. The latter meaning exists for colloquial Tel. *sandu*. West coast Tam. *candi* is 'the region of the buttocks' and Kann. *sandi* is used sometimes for 'the vagina'.

Further, Tam. *candi* stands for 'message', 'messenger', and 'reconciliation' in the literary dialect.

45. *samaya*.

The following appear to be connected with this IA word.

Tam. *camai-* (to be prepared, made suitable, to come to maturity, to be finished)—a literary form which appears in Medieval Tamil with these meanings all of which are evolved from the OIA significations.

, *camai-kk-* (to make ready; perform, etc.)—This is the transitive form corresponding to *camai-* above; the only meaning now current in the colloquial is that of 'preparing food' or 'cooking', as in *camayal acaā* (is the preparation of the daily food over?)

Mal. *camai-* (to be made ready, etc.) and *camai-kk-* (to make ready) literary forms—RC. I. 157; KR, År. 37, I. 1; OT, p. 168—In literary Mal., expressions like *vāyyu camaiikkī* (managed to join or eventually joined), *camai-* performs the very generalised function of a help-verb. The only context in which the verb occurs in Mal. colloquial is in the phrase *ketti-c-camaiikk-* (to prepare elaborately). *Camayam*¹ the noun, means in the colloquial 'garden produce'.

Kann. *same-*, *sane-* (to be made ready, to make ready)—are purely literary forms.

46. *samsārah* 'worldly life'

(i) Mal. usage evidences a unique semantic development in that the adaptation *samsāram* and the denominative verb *samsārikk-* have come to mean 'conversing, conversation' alike in the modern literary texts and in the colloquial. The idea of 'conversing' is expressed in modern Mal. only by these forms:

eyyulla samsāram pōl vāyin kāryāñāl-ellām (things came about as in the talk)—OT, p. 359.

pōgi, yinunde samsāram madi (get away, you hussyl I've had enough of your talk!)—OT, p. 360.

erāku vēndi samsārikkuyavar (patron who speaks for another)—VD, II, cited by Gundert.

(ii) In certain communal colloquials of Tam., Kann. and Tel., *samsāram* means 'family' or even 'wife'. For instance, in the language of the Tamil Brahmin, *aran periya samsāri* would mean 'he is a man with a large family' and *oniga samsāram eṅge-y-irukkē?* would signify 'where is your wife?'

47. *sakṣma* 'minute' 'subtle'.

1. *Camayam* in the sense of 'equipment of dress' 'ornaments, etc.' occurs in the language of the Kathakali (Malabar drama) actors. It is also used very frequently in VP with the meaning 'ornaments and dress?'—cf. VP, III, p. 14; VP, I, p. 11, etc.

Mal. *sakṣi*, a denominative verb formed from the IA base has developed the meanings 'to look attentively to', 'to watch over' and 'to guard': KG, Pūt., I. 157; KG, Sītā, I. 527.

These meanings should have been evolved from contexts like *sākṣma buddhi* (subtle intellect), *sūkṣma drṣṭi* (careful power of vision), *sākṣma-k-bhāvam* (want of carefulness), etc.

Tam. *cūḍumām* occurs in certain regional colloquials with the meanings 'cunning', 'thrift', and even 'brevity'; these meanings however are not common¹.

1. The list of IA loans (showing semantic divergencies in Dravidian usage), adduced in the preceding pages, is not exhaustive. The intensive examination of each of the south Dravidian speeches would reveal many others of this kind showing varying degrees of divergence in meaning. I give below a few further instances:—

IA	Dravidian.
<i>anyonya</i> 'mutual'	'Friendship'—Mal. [V.]; Tel.
<i>asahya</i> 'unbearable'	'Loathesome'—Tam. <i>asiṇgyam</i> ; Tel.
<i>āgraha</i> 'persistence' 'favour'	'Desire'—Mal. 'Anger'—Tel.
<i>acīta</i> 'proper'	'Free, gratis'—Tel.
<i>pāṇya</i> 'venerable'	Cipher, nought—Mal., Tel.—In astrologers' calculations in Malabar, the shells representing 'cipher' are worshipped [Gundert]; cf. also the use of the word <i>bhadram</i> in Mal. for representing 'cipher' in astrological calculation.
<i>bhāgavata</i> 'devotee of Viṣṇu'	'Songster'—Tam.;—'religious men, actors'—Tel. <i>bhāgavatulu</i> .
'the name of a purāna'	
<i>saddhu</i> 'fit' 'strong' 'saintly'	'Lacking riches'—Mal.

Two things stand out prominently from the above lists:

(a) In quite a large number of instances, the semantic developments are common to two or more among the Dravidian speeches. How far this was due to the cultural intercourse among Sanskrit scholars of the different Dravidian areas and how far one may have to postulate the influence of the southern Prākṛts are questions that have yet to be taken up for discussion. It is quite possible that in some instances at least, the semantic changes had already occurred in the MIA speeches once current

in the south of India. The discussion of the relationships of IA loans in Dravidian to Prākṛti forms should not be confined exclusively to the structural side; the semantic aspects are equally important, and until the semantics of the southern Prākṛtis are fully cleared up, it would be difficult to say how far the meaning-changes that I have recorded in the above lists were developed in Dravidian itself.

(b) Among all the Dravidian speeches of the south, Mal. shows certain unique meaning-changes: cf. *tāmasam* (residence stay), *dāryam* (disease), *dīnam* (disease), *bhaśī* (beauty) *baud-*, *dhan* (an antagonist of Hinduism), *sakdrām* (abuse) *śvīthi* (violent temper), *samsāram* (conversation).

A NOTE ON
THE HARAHĀ INSCRIPTION AND KĀLIDĀSA.

BY

DASARATHA SARMA, M.A.,

Dingar College, Bikaner.

The date of Kālidāsa is even now an unsolved problem of Indian literary history. Many Indian writers, relying on ancient Indian tradition, argue that he flourished at the court of Vikrama, the ruler of Ujjayinī in 57 B. C. Keith, Macdonell and host of other distinguished writers assign him to the beginning of the 5th century, A. D. Dr. Hoernle assigned him to the first half of the sixth century, and his theory after being regarded as erroneous for some time, has now found a stout defendant in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who makes Kālidāsa a court poet of Yaśodharman. The purpose of our note is not to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of these theories, but merely to show by putting side by side the parallel passages from the works of Kālidāsa and the Harahā inscription of 555 A. D. that the poet had become fairly famous by that date, and that his works were intensively studied and copied by people aspiring to poetic fame in the middle of the sixth century. Harahā inscription may thus prove as important for the date of Kālidāsa as the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. which mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi as great poets. The parallel passages are:—

(a) तस्मात् पयोधेरिव शीतरश्मिरादित्यवर्मा नुपतिष्ठभूव ॥

(Harahā inscription, v. 6.)

तदन्वयेप्रसूतः.....

दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिण्डुः क्षीरनिधाविव ॥ (*Raghuvamśa*, 1, 12.)

The similarity between the two is clear enough.

(b) यस्य.....आचारमाग्ने नुपाः

यक्षेनापि वयातितुल्यशस्तो नान्येऽनुग्रन्तुं क्षमाः ॥

(Harahā inscription, v. 8.)

न किञ्चानुपयुक्तस्य राजानो रक्षितुर्यशः (*Raghuvamśa*, 1, 27.)

Here too the identity of ideas and language is obvious.

- (c) वस्तव्यान्तचयोः परास्तरजसो व्याप्तिं ये योगिनः
 यस्यार्थस्थितयोषितोऽपि हृदये नास्थायि चेतोभुवा ॥
 (Harahā inscription, v. 1.)
 कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽप्यविषयमनसां यः परस्ताथतीनाम् ॥
 (Mālavikāgnimitra, 1, 1.)

Here the phrase वस्तव्यान्तचयोः परास्तरजसो योगिनः of the inscription carries the same sense as the words अधिष्यमनसां यतीनाम् of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The words यस्यार्थस्थितयोषितोऽपि and कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽपि can be similarly compared, and the phrase हृदये नास्थायि चेतोभुवा makes merely explicit an idea suggested by the line from Kālidāsa's drama.

- (d) लोकस्थितीनां स्थितये स्थितस्य (Harahā inscription, v. 5.)
 रिक्षयै दण्डयतो दण्डयन् (Raghuvamīśa, 1, 25.)

Here the comparison between the two is merely verbal.

The above similarities are shown even by a cursory glance at this inscription of 23 verses. But one studying it carefully will find other evidences of Kālidāsa being imitated by the writer of the Harahā *prafasti*. The verse नीत्या शीर्य has been probably suggested by a similar verse शाने शौने in the *Raghuvamīśa* and the phrase वितिप्रवेशः जन्मप्रभावातये जन्माकारि has somehow a suspicious resemblance to आत्मकर्मशर्म देहः शाश्वो वर्म इवाभितः. Other passages like these are:—

- (a) ये ग्राघ्य साफल्यमियाय धाता (Harahā inscription, v. 6.)
 तं वेचा विद्वे नूरं महाभूतसमाविना । (Raghuvamīśa, 1, 29.)
 (b) यस्येज्यास्थनिशं यथाविधि हृतज्योतिर्ज्वर्जन्मना.

आयता नववारिभिर्विनमने मेवावली प्राप्तुः
 (Harahā inscription, v. 10.)

- (1) यथाविधि हृताशीनां (Raghuvamīśa, 1, 6.)
 (2) हृदोह ना स यज्ञाय सस्याय मववा दिवम् (Raghuvamīśa, 1, 26.)
 c) यस्मिन् कालेऽम्बुद्याहा नवगवलरुचः प्रान्तलमेन्दुचापा-
 स्तन्यन्त्यादाविताने स्फुरदुरुतडितः सान्द्रधीरं कमन्तः ।
 (Harahā inscription, v. 23.)

विशुलन्तं लितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचिन्नाः

संगीताय प्रहतमुरजाः खिगधगम्भीरथोषम् । (*Meghadūta*, 2, 1.)

In (d) the words printed in thick type should be compared.

Other passages too may be given here. But these, perhaps, would suffice to show that Ravisānti, the author of the *Harahā prāstasti*, had the description of the Raghu family and Dilipa before himself, and that he utilised them fully along with some verses from the *Meghadūta* and *Mālavikāgnimitra* in composing the panegyric of the Mukbara dynasty.

A NOTE ON MAYŪRA AS A WRITER ON PROSODY

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

The knowledge that we possess about Mayūra and his works is very meagre. The current belief that he was a court-poet of Harṣavardhana of Kannauj (A.D. 606-647) and the brother-in-law or father-in-law of Bāṇa is based on a commentary on Mānatūṅga's *Bhaktimara-stotra* and the verse *aho prabhāvo rāgdevyā yan Mātāṅga-dīvākarah | Śrikarṣasyūbhāvat sabhyāḥ samo Bāṇa-Mayūreyoḥ* of the (younger) Rājaśekhara, that is, on sources both of which seem to me to be untrustworthy. Peterson's opinion, too (Introd. to his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāfitā-vallī*, p. 86), that Mayūra is referred to by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* seems to be likewise erroneous; for the Mayūra who is mentioned as Bāṇa's contemporary and friend in that book was a *jāngulika* (cure of snake-bites), and to identify him with the poet Mayūra is as illegitimate as to identify the singer (*gāyanā*) Somila mentioned in the same connection in that book with the poet of that name whom we know as the collaborator of Rāmīla.

Of the works of Mayūra, two, namely, the *Mayūrāśṭaka* and the *Surya-śatka* are fairly well-known and are printed; a *Khaṇḍa-praśasti* of his is cited by Ruyyaka in his *Alamkārasarvasva* (Winternitz, *Ges. d. Ind. Literatur*, 3, 121, n. 3) and a *kośa* attributed to him is mentioned by Burnell in his *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore* (Winternitz, *op. cit.* 3, 409, n. 1).

It is therefore of interest to note that a work on prosody by Mayūra is alluded to by the Kannada author Nāgavarma (c. 1040 A.D.) in the following stanza which occurs in his *Chandōnibudhi* and also in his *Abhidhāna-vastu-kośa*:

jita-Bāṇam Hari-yant adhah-kyā-Mayūram Tārakārati-
yān-
t ati-Māgham śisirāntyad ante surapa-prōccanda-
kōdāpādā an-

te tirōbhūta-Guṇāḍhyān abja-vanad anti-āvirbhavād-
Danḍī Bhā-
ratad ant ātta-Dhanamjayaika-vibhavaṇi vāg-
gumphado! Nāgīgam!॥

This stanza may be rendered in Sanskrit as: *vāg-gumphes* Nāgavarma Harir iwa *jīla-Bāṇāḥ*, Tāraḥārātīr iwa *adhalī-kṛta-*
Mayūraḥ, *sīśivāntyam* *tuḍī-Māgħaḥ*, *suroṣa-proccayda-kodan-*
dant iwa *tirobhūta-Guṇāḍhyāḥ*, *abja-vanam* iwa *Āvirbhavād-*
Danḍī, *Bhāratam* iwa *ātta-Dhanamjayaika-vibhavaś* [ca]. It can
be seen that Nāgavarma applies to himself six epithets in this
stanza. Now there are six books written by Nāgavarma, and
each one of these epithets alludes to one of these six books.
Thus the epithet *jīla-Bāṇā* refers to the Kannada *Kādanbarī*
(an adaptation of Bāṇā's work) written by him, the epithet
Āvirbhavād-*Danḍī* to *Kāvyaḍlokana* (which is, like Dandin's
Kāvyaḍdarśa, a treatise on *Kāvyaḍlāmikāra*), the epithet *ātta-Dha-*
namjayaika-vibhava to his *Abhidhānavastu-kōśa* (which, like the
Nīghaṇṭu of Dhanamjaya, is a collection of synonyms) and the
epithet *tirobhūta-Guṇāḍhya* (= Śarvavarman; for the story of
Śarvavarman's vanquishing Guṇāḍhya, see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 6-7)
to his *Bhāṣābhūṣaya* (which, like Śarvavarman's *Kātantra*, is a
small and simple treatise on Grammar, and by writing which
Nāgavarma became known as *Abhinava-Śarvavarman*), while the
epithet *ātta-Māgħa* alludes to a *campū-kōśa* of Nāgavarma con-
sisting mostly of verses, that has not come down to us but was
known to and mentioned by the poet Janna (A. D. 1227). The
only remaining epithet *adhalī-kṛta-Mayūra* must, of necessity,
contain an allusion to *Chandōmbudhi*, the remaining work of
Nāgavarma. This book, as indicated by the title, is an exhaus-
tive treatise on Prosody; and it hence follows that the work of
Mayūra which (in Nāgavarma's opinion) it threw into the shade,
must also have been a book on Prosody. In other words, it
becomes plain from the above stanza that Mayūra was the
author of a work on Prosody.

A NOTE ON THE FRESCO-PAINTING AT SITTANNAVĀŚAL

BY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMĀNIAJ, M.A., L.T.

Sittanavāśal, a village about 9 miles north-west of the town of Purukotah, was once a flourishing centre of Jain influence. There are, in a natural cavern, difficult of access, in the rock on its north-eastern face, 17 beds with stone pillows of Jain ascetics who have starved themselves to death; and their names are inscribed on them in Brāhmī and archaic Tamil scripts (2nd century B.C. to the early centuries of the Christian era.) On the western side of the hill there is facing north-west, a Jaina rock-cut cave temple after the style of Mahendravarman's caves. The *Garbhagṛha* (central shrine) has three Tirthankaras, *Mahāvīra* being in the centre, and its ceiling is painted with various Jain symbols. The *Mukhamandapa* (front pillared-hall) has two Tirthankaras on the northern and the southern sides; the figure on the southern side is that of Pārvanātha, the 23rd Tirthankara. Its pillars and the ceiling are also painted in good style. The two main pillars supporting the roof of the mandapa have on each face the figure of an 'Apsaras' and that of a king (—perhaps Mahendravarman?) and some fine scroll work.

The subject of study in this note is the scene of the Lotus-pool painted in the ceiling of this mandapa which is a rare specimen of Pallava painting. The lotus-pool covers the whole extent of the ceiling of the Mukhamandapa in front of the shrine-chamber. There are a number of lotus flowers, buds and leaves. In their midst are found some matsyas (fish), hamsas (geese), cranes, a makata, 3 bulls (M. J. Dubreuil calls them buffaloes) 3 elephants and three men each holding a lotus in his hand.¹

1. Mr. Longhurst Kern Inst., Bibl., 1920, p. 11, says that they are *bathing*. This does not seem to be a correct description as will presently be seen. Matsya and Svastika are two of the Asṭamangalas (eight auspicious objects) of the Jainas. The elephant, the bull and the Lotus-pool are three of the fourteen dreams dreamt by Trīśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra.

The earliest attempt to study the Jain cave at Sittannavāśal and its paintings was made as early as 1910 by Mr. K. Venkataranga Naidu, the curator of Pudukotah museum.

At the request of M. J. Dubreuil, the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao paid a visit to the cave and wrote to him thus, "These paintings are perhaps as old as the shrine and are in fairly good state of preservation and need being copied fully." Unfortunately he did not live up to complete the work.

On the 3rd January, 1920, M. J. Dubreuil made a careful study of the cave and its paintings and published an account of it in the state Gazette.¹ This was later re-issued by him as an article in the Indian Antiquary.² He opined that the rock-cut shrine at Sittannavāśal is identical in design with that at Mānsandūr, that the cave was at one time fully painted but only the paintings in the upper part of the edifice are intact; that "the principal subject that is preserved is a grand fresco which adorns the whole extent of the ceiling of the verandah. This fresco represents a tank covered with lotus." Further he added, "this subject of a lotus tank was probably a scene from the religious history of the Jains, which I do not know."

At the request of the then Dewan of Pudukotah, Mr. A. H. Longhurst, former superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern circle visited the state and wrote an account of the cave in the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for 1930.

What the lotus-pool symbolises remains a mystery; and in this connection it may be well to bear in mind that "Jaina Art bears a close superficial resemblance to that of Buddhism but maintains a more rigid uniformity."³ The figure of a lotus-pool with growing lotus plants and birds standing in the water is found in a sculptured panel of the outer railings of the Amarāvati stūpa.⁴

In spite of this feature in Buddhist mythology and art, the Sittannavāśal cave is distinctly a Jain cave and the paintings refer to a Jain motif.

1. *Vide* notification dated 13th November, 1920.

2. Vol. LII, 1923, pp. 45-47.

3. Dr. A. K. Kumaraswamy, p. 27, Sculpture—Catalogue of the Boston Museum.

4. See figure 1, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, Archaeological Survey, New Imperial Series, Vol. 15.

The lotus tank is a sacred object of the Jains. When the embryo of Mahāvīra was transferred by Harināgameśa, Indra's messenger, from the womb of the Brahmin lady to that of the Kṣatriya-Rāṇī Trīśalā, she saw fourteen auspicious dreams (Sākūna). One of them was the lotus-pool, *Mānasarovara*, which was "a lake of lotuses resorted to by swans, cranes and ducks" and pleasing to the eye.

But the lotus-pool depicted in the cave seems to be, in my opinion, an attempt at the representation of the parable of the lotus-pool graphically described in the first lecture of the 2nd book of *Sūtrakṛt Anga*, one of the eleven *Angas* which comprise the chief sacred books of the Jains.¹ The discourse of the venerable Mahāvīra was reported by Sudharman—a disciple of Mahāvīra and one to whom the world is indebted for the Jain scriptures—to Jambusvāmin, a disciple of Sudharman. The sermon is as follows:—"There is a lotus-pool containing much water and mud, very full and complete, full of white lotuses, delightful, conspicuous, magnificent and splendid. And everywhere all over the lotus-pool there grew many white lotuses the best of *Nymphaeas*, in beautiful array tall, brilliant, of fine colour, smell, taste, touch, ... splendid. And in the very middle of this lotus-pool, there grew one big white lotus, the best of *Nymphaeas*.

"Now there came a man from the eastern quarter to the lotus-pool, and standing on the bank of it, he saw that one big white lotus. Now this man spoke thus, "I am a knowing, clever, well-informed, discerning, wise, not foolish man, who keeps the way, knows the way, and is acquainted with the direction and bent of the way. I shall fetch that white lotus, the best of all *Nymphaeas*. Having said this the man entered the lotus-pool. And the more he proceeded, the more the water and the mud (seemed to) extend. He had left the shore, and he did not come up to the white lotus, the best of *Nymphaeas*, he could not get back to this bank, nor to the opposite one, but in the middle of the lotus-pool he stuck in the mud."

Then there came another man from the southern quarter to the lotus-pool. The second man thought that the first man was not a knowing man but that he alone was knowing. But when he entered the pool, he also stuck in the mud. The same thing happened to a third and a fourth man who came from the western and northern quarters respectively.

1. See Jacobi Jaina Sūtras, part II.

There was a monk living on low food and desiring to get to the shore of *samsāra*. Standing on the bank of the lotus-pool, he saw the one big white lotus. He did not enter the lotus pool; but standing on the bank of it, he raised his voice, "Fly up on, white lotus, best of Nymphaeas!" and lo!, the white lotus flew up.

Then Mahāvīra asked the Nigrantha monks and nuns to comprehend the meaning of the simile. They failed to understand it; so Mahāvīra explained the simile thus:—"Oh long lived Śramaṇas! meaning the world, I spoke of the lotus-pool; meaning Karman I spoke of the water; meaning pleasure and amusements I spoke of the mud; meaning people in general I spoke of those many white lotuses, the best of Nymphaeas; meaning heretical teachers I spoke of those four men; meaning the law I spoke of the monk; meaning the church I spoke of the bank; meaning one preaching of the law I spoke of the (monk's) voice; meaning Nirvāna I spoke of the lotus flying up; meaning these things Oh long lived Śramaṇas, I told this simile".

The story here described differs from the scene painted in the ceiling of the cave in some particulars: (1) If the lotus-pool is depicted in the ceiling of the Mukhamandapa, the best white lotus is found not in the centre of the pool but in the centre of the ceiling of the shrine chamber and in front of Mahāvīra. (2) Another point of difference is that instead of four men coming from the four directions, we have only three men of whom two are very near the centre of the tank. (3) The lotuses drawn in the pool of the ceiling are red, while those described in the parable are said to be white.

In spite of these differences it appears to me that this parable is the best solution of the scene depicted in the ceiling of the Mukhamandapa of the Jain cave at Sittannavāśal.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE RGVEDANUKRAMANI OF MADHAVABHATTA—MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 2—EDITED BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON.), READER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 3-8-0; Foreign 7s.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras has placed the Sanskrit world under a deep debt of gratitude by editing the *Rgvedanukramani* by *Mādhabavabhatta*.

As mentioned by the Doctor, the work under review throws light on many interesting points. The author, Mādhabavabhatta, clearly states that the mantras of Rgveda were revealed to Rsis before they were redacted into Samhitā, cf.—

मृदुलान्यूपयो दृष्ट्वा सर्वं एव समागताः ।

विन्यासं ददशुः पश्चादिति वृद्धेभ्य आगमः ॥ V, 6, 21.

He also accounts for the chronological order of the ten manḍalas of Rgveda. The different readings in the same mantra are accounted for by the fact that they were revealed at different times to rsis who had different aims, cf.—

एवमैक्ये रूपभेदः पाठभेदश्च किञ्चतः ।

भूयो भूयस्तप्तप्त्वा वेदानानाविधानिति ।

ऋषयो ददशुः पूर्वे ते तमर्थमर्थीपत्रः ॥ V, 7, 26.

पश्यन्ति तांस्तानुदित्य कामानिह महर्षयः ।

ये ये सूक्तेषु दृष्ट्वन्ते ते च भेदस्य हेतवः ॥ V, 6, 29.

तथा दर्शनकालस्य भेदश्चैषां विमेदकः । V, 6, 30.

Patañjali is referred to as the author of a work, *Nidāna* by name, where Vedic prosody should have been dealt with and Vedic mantras should have been commented upon (VI, 1, 14; 6, 8; VII, 6, 10), and also as a grammarian. Mention is made of Piṅgala, Shandhogrīvi, Krauṣīhuti and Yāska as writers on Vedic chandas and they were called *keśayāḥ* (VI, 5, 8). Yāska is referred to as *Yaska-kulodbhava* (VI, 1, 26; VII, 5, 9). The author also

suggests by his statement शाक्त्यः पाणिनिर्चार्स्क इत्यगर्थपरास्त्रयः (VIII, 1, 7) that Pāṇini commented upon Vedic mantras and he may have been anterior to Yāska. His regard to Pāṇini is clear from his discussion on his sūtras on the use of लक्षण's (II, 3, 16-20) and he also seems to suggest by his statement स्पृष्टमेवलक्षणर्थान् पश्चामो ब्राह्मणेषु च (II, 3, 19) that the word *chandas* in the sūtra शुद्धं चन्दसि refers only to Sarīhitā and not to Brāhmaṇas.

As regards upasargas, he does not seem to agree with the author of ज्ञानवेदप्रातिक्रियाभ्युपदेश that they are *vācakas* (cf. उपसर्गं विशतिर्व्याप्तिकाः) but agrees with Mahābhāṣyakāra that they are *dyotakas* (III, 7, 3).

It is also worthy of notice that the introductory stanza in each adhyāya of the eight aṣṭakas in this work, except the first in each aṣṭaka, begins with a phrase with which the respective adhyāya of the Rg-veda begins.

According to him, a *vaidika* is one who officiates as priest and a *laukika* is one other than he (III, 3, 9; V, 1, 13; V, 7, 25, etc.). From the statement प्रवाजदेवयाजादी (VII 5, introductory stanza), it seems that the word देवयाज was used in the sense of अनूयाज. His treatment of accent—his assertion that there should be difference in meaning if there is difference in accent in the same word, and the high and the low tones depend upon the meaning and it is better appreciated by *laukikas* (I, 6, 6; I, 8, 1), and his statement that context decides the time of action if the tenses used do not conform to the rules of grammar (II, 2, 9) and his emphatic protest against the previous writers with whom he does not agree—are points to prove that he is a critical commentator, full of knowledge.

Dr. Raja has taken great pains in proving that this Mādhava is different from Mādhava (A), in giving reference to all Rks in Appendix II-A, in noting different readings in Appendix I and in preparing the index of stanzas in Appendix III. He may have given an index of the names of authors and works. The Sanskrit public will be eagerly waiting for more information regarding Mādhava and others, for his publication of Rg-vedabhāṣya by Skandasvāmin and for further publications by him which will throw new light on the history of Vedic exegesis.

THE UNADISUTRAS WITH THE PRAKRIYASAVASVA OF NARAYANA,
MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 7 PT. 2.—
EDITED BY DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D., SENIOR
LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price.
Rs. 2-8-0. Foreign 4 s.

Dr. T. R. Chintamani makes, by his publications in quick succession, the world of Sanskrit scholars really indebted to him. He has shown to the world that many a scholar devoted his energies to write commentaries on *Uṇādisūtras*. One of them is *Nārāyaṇa* and his commentary is named *Prakriyāśarvasva*. His date is mentioned by the editor to be 1586 A. D.

The need for *Uṇādisūtras* seems to be this:—The great grammarian Śākātāyana expounded the theory that *all* words are derived from *verbs* and Gārgya and Nairuktas differed from him and said that not *all* are derived from them. But the latter took into their heads that some derivation or other should be given. Acārya Pāṇini is said to agree with Gārgya. Hence it will be an interesting study to go into the different kinds of derivations of words given by the commentators. When many scholars have derived सिद्धः from रित्, this author derives it from शिव्—

Cf. सिद्धति रुचिरेणाङ्गं सुवृं वा सिद्धः ।

This author clearly sees that, in the derivation of certain words, he is not satisfied; but he states that he is forced to abide by the decision of टीकासर्वत्वकार.

Cf. अस्मादातोरियं संज्ञा साध्येति सुनिशासने ।

किं कुर्मोऽयान्वयः कश्चित् लब्धव्येत् कृतिनो वयम् ॥

सदसदापि यत्किञ्चिदुक्तवा ब्युत्पादगित्पदः ।

टीकासर्वत्वकारादिवचनं दरणं हि नः ॥

He might have mentioned that the view of टीकासर्वत्वकार is the same as that of Yāska, the author of *Nirukta*.

The derivation of certain words is worth investigation:—

ताढः—पूषते अस्मिन्नास्यजलम् ; शुक्रः—शोचति देवगुणैः ;
कपोळः—छादयति दन्तादीन् ; मीनः—मीयते हिस्पते ; कलत्रम्—गलति
सुङ्गे मर्तुः स्वम् ; श्रोणिः—श्रूयते न तु दर्शते वल्लभत्वात् ; अमळः—
अम्लते रोहिति क्रीर्यात् ; पुत्रः—पुनाति कृष्णापाकरणात् ॥

The author seems to have a keen critical acumen from his statement प्रालूनिशातितत्वादिदं हेयम् under the sūtra इग्नो मनिन्. His

derivation of विशुरः from व्यश् deserves notice and suggests that the word विश्वा also may be derived from the same root as is done by the Western scholars.

Dr. Chintamani has taken great pains in editing the text neatly and critically and in having carefully prepared indexes of works and authors referred to, of sūtras and of words at the end. He is critical and scholarly in his introduction and also promises that 'Details regarding the text of Nārāyaṇa and a comparison of this text with that of others will be set forth in the General Introduction in Part VII.' The get-up is nice and the price is cheap. We wish that the University of Madras will enable the Doctor to give the Sanskrit scholars similar intellectual treats by his publication.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

THE UNADISUTRAS OF BHOJA WITH THE VRTTI OF DANDANATHA
NARAYANA AND THE UNADISUTRAS OF THE KATANTRA
SCHOOL WITH THE VRTTI OF DURGASIMHA, MADRAS UNI-
VERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 7, PT. 6.—EDITED BY DR.
T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D., SENIOR LECTURER IN
SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 3. Foreign
6 s.

The Uṇḍisūtras of Bhoja and of the Kātantra school have seen the light of day through the efforts of Dr. T. R. Chintamani. He has explained in his introduction the reasons why Bhoja's work is named उण्डस्तीक्ष्णाभरणम् though it has another name शब्दानुशासनम् ; he has also dealt with the date and identity of the commentator Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa.

The Uṇḍisūtras of Bhoja contain 795 sūtras on the whole. In his desire to explain the derivation of all words, he suggests the following which deserve careful consideration:—

स्वसा—अत्यते: सुन्मुपपदे कन्प्रव्ययो भवति ; जामाता—जः
इवेतस्मिन्पदे मित्रः दुच्चप्रलयो भवति ; द्वौ त्रयः—उभेरिप्रव्ययो भवति,
दत्र इवेतौ चादेशौ भवतः ;

Daṇḍanātha in his commentary takes अन्मः to be a ग्रन्तियज्ञाति and आभीरः, a शूद्रवाति.

The manuscripts for the first part seem to have much taxed the patience of the editor and hence some errors seem to have escaped his notice which need revision in the second edition.

The Kātantra school differ from the Bhoja school in certain derivations. The former derive शृङ्गः from श्रिं शर्वेषाम्, while the latter from श्रिं. The former takes the form शृङ्गः while the latter शृङ्गः.

Durgasimha equates चण्डाल with निपाद. His *vṛtti* is scholarly and deserves to be studied by all Sanskrit grammarians.

The editor has taken pains to give the indices of sūtras and words in each part and a short Introduction. It will be a great help to Sanskrit scholars if he kindly takes the trouble of publishing the differences of opinion in the derivation of words by different scholars and examines them in the light of Indo-European Philology. The get-up is good and the price is low. The Sanskrit world will feel grateful to the University of Madras for having enabled the Doctor to bring out his publications in quick succession.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

BULLETINS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY NO. 4. VIJAYANAGARA, ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE—BY N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D., READER IN INDIAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Price Rs. 2. Foreign 3 s.

The present work of Dr. Venkataramanayya is in many ways a supplement to his previous work, 'Kampili and Vijayanagara'. He has tried to meet much of the criticism that was levelled against him, when he first advanced his views. He has subjected the theory of the Karnāṭaka origin to a searching analysis and has exposed the hollowness of some of the sweeping assumptions connected with that theory.

The work is more of the nature of notes on several of the problems relating to the origin of the city and the founders of the Empire, rather than a comprehensive study of the beginnings of Vijayanagara history.

One or two conclusions of Dr. Venkataramanayya are based on very slender sources. The most noteworthy of these is the statement that Harihara I embraced Islam, and that Bukka I had a Muslim son. Another is the statement that there was 'a conscious effort to overhaul the administrative machinery of the kingdom', on the part of the Kākatiya rulers, Rudrama and Pratāparudra.

It is impossible in a short review like this to do anything more than merely indicate a few of the outstanding dates and facts that are highly controversial, which Dr. Venkataramanayya has done little to back up by substantial evidence. He assigns A. D. 1330 as the last date of Pratāparudra, but points out no authority except the inscription commemorating the grant of land to the temple of Bhramarāmēśvara of Ārumūruguṇa. But this inscription has no connection with Pratāparudra, and in no way helps his argument. His last date of Kāpaya Nayaka, namely A. D. 1360 is open to similar objection. The inscription cited in support of it does not refer to Kāpaya Nayaka at all.

A few details about Rācakonḍa are worth our scrutiny. The incident relating to Śrinātha's visit to the Court of Rācakonḍa is based on a *cīta pādaya*, and we know what value we have to assign to the majority of them unless corroborated by other evidence. On chronological grounds Dr. Venkataramanayya's position in this respect is untenable. He gives A. D. 1420 as the initial date of Siṅgama's reign but states in the next page that Śrinātha's visit to Rācakonḍa should have taken place a little earlier. According to tradition the Konḍaviṭu ruler who is mentioned in this story is Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, who had previously fought with the rulers of Rācakonḍa. Now, Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma's reign must have come to an end some time before Saka 1337 expired, i. e., A. D. 1415-16, long before Siṅgama came to the throne.

It is also doubtful whether Siṅgama had the title of Sarvajña at all. We have inscriptional evidence to show that Peda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma had that title. According to Velugōti-vāri-varṇa-caritra, Siṅgama also had this title. But the Report on Epigraphy for 1913 assigns this title to Siṅgama, brother of Mummuṭi Reḍḍi of the Korukonḍa branch of the Reḍdis. This Siṅgama is also associated with the famous Vaiṣṇavite scholar and philosopher Vēdānta Dēśika, and was also a great patron of Sri-vaiṣṇavism. Tradition assigning this title to Siṅgama of Rācakonḍa cites as evidence Bammera Pōtana's Bhōginī Daṇḍakam. There are many points against making Pōtana the author of this work, and the whole question needs to be thoroughly discussed.

The identification of Sanaba in EC V Cr 167 is wrong. It is most probably the modern village of Sanapa in Anantapur. Ātakur is perhaps the present Ātmakur in the same taluk, as

proved by a fragment of an inscription found at that place some time back. Both of them were in the Ghanagiri kingdom.

In spite of minor inaccuracies like these, the book is replete with interesting and original thought and is indeed a valuable contribution to the study of the Vijayanagara history. The sources for the early period are somewhat scanty and unless a systematic search for sources is carried out in the country around the ancient city of Vijayanagara, our knowledge of this period is likely to remain scrappy and doubtful.

D. SRINIVASACHARI.

Kāl.

Ūr-k-kāl cēy,
(Land near the end of the village.)

Puraṇ.

Ūr-k-kaṇ maram.
(The tree outside the village.)

Alkām.

Eyī-kaṭ pukkān.
(He entered into the fort.)

Uṭ.

Ip-kaṇ iruntāṇ.
(He was within the house.)

Uṭai.

Aracāṇ-kaṇ iruntāṇ.
(He was near the king.)

Kil.

Ā ḥāṇ-kaṭ kiṭantāṭū.
(Cow lay at the foot of the banyan tree.)

Mēl.

Kuraṇku marattiṇ-kaṇ iruntāṭū.
(Monkey was at the top of the tree.)

Pōg.

Ēr-k-kaṭ cēṇrāṇ.
(He went behind the plough.)

Cār.

Kāṭṭāṇ-kaṇ ôṭum.
(He runs through the land adjoining the forest.)

Ayat.

Cirāppaṇṇi-k-kunru uṛaiyūr-k-kaṇ uṭatāṭū.
(The hill at Trichinopoly is near Uṛaiyūr.)

Puṭai.

Eyī-kaṇ niṅgār.
(They stood away from the fort.)

Tēvakai.

Vaṭṭakkaṇ Vēṇkaṭam.
(Veṇkaṭam on the north.)

Muz.

Puli-k-kaṭ paṭṭāṇ.
(He happened to stand before a tiger.)

K

Talai, Itai, Kafai.

Nūg-kap mañkalam.

(The auspicious ornaments at the beginning, middle or end.)

Valam.

Ācīriyan mānakkariṇ-kap nīgrāy.

(Teacher stood to the right of pupils.)

Itam.

Mānakkārācīriyan-kap nīgrār.

(Pupils stood to the left of the teacher.)

Note 1.—Cēñāvaraiyar has taken this sūtra to deal with the specialised meanings of the locative in the same way as the sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78 and 80 which respectively deal with the specialised meanings of the accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative and genitive cases. Ijampūraṇar and Naccipārkkipiyar think that this sūtra deals with the different words like *kay*, *kōl* etc. which serve as locative case-suffixes. Teyvaccilaiyār's opinion is that both are dealt with here. The defects in the interpretation of Ijampūraṇar are:—(1) If this sūtra deals with case-suffixes, the word *kay* which has been mentioned in the previous sūtra is unnecessary here; (2) the word *tēvakai* is not used as case-suffix and hence it should be taken to mean the meaning of the locative suffix; (3) since Tolkāppiyār deals with the meanings of the different case-suffixes in the sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78 and 80, it is fair that he deals with the meaning of the locative suffix here; (4) in expressions like *ār-p-purattu iruntāy*, if *puram* is taken as a locative suffix, the *cāriyai* 'allu' cannot come after it since it is enjoined in the sūtra.

Avayyutai maruñkīr cāriyai varumē. (Tol. Elut. 118.)
 that it comes only between the noun and the case-suffix; (5) Tolkāppiyār has not stated the *colluvūpū* in other cases. Of these the defects (1) and (4) have been mentioned by Cēñāvaraiyar. Naccipārkkipiyar condemns Cēñāvaraiyar thus—(1) If *kay* in this sūtra denotes place, it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra; (2) There is no usage like '*marattukkaṭ kurañkū*' etc.; (3) Instead of the expression '*kay-p-akay-nālam*' (wide place) one should use '*kay-kay akayū-nālam*.' The first argument is baseless since '*kay*' in the previous sūtra is the case-suffix and '*kay*' in this sūtra is its meaning. The second argument falls to the ground since Naccipārkkipiyar himself has given '*marattu-k-kaṭ kurañkū*' as an example under the sūtra

Peyarun tojilum pirintorūn k-icaippa

Uṭaiñaiyu m-iyaiyu m-oñuvayi y-ekkum. (Tol. Elut. 132.)

In the expression *kay-η-akay nālam*, the word *kay* may be taken as a noun meaning place or centre so that the expression may mean *iñam akryra pūni*, though Cēpāvaraiyar takes *kay* as an *iñai-c-col*. Expressions where *kay* is used as a noun are plenty, cf. '*parrazza kannum*' (Kural, 521) (in places or persons deprived of wealth). If so the third objection also cannot stand. Hence the interpretation given by Cēpāvaraiyar seems to be the correct one. The author of the *Ilakkana-viñakkam* agrees with Cēpāvaraiyar.

Note 2.—The words *kay*, *talai*, etc. are all nouns denoting place, cf. '*parrazza kannum*' (Kural, 521); '*Nayan-talai-nal-l-eyū*' (Pura, 15) (the five fort with its head wide or a very wide and fine fort). In many cases when words compounded with them were used after the verbs, the seventh case-suffix was dropped on the strength of the sūtra

Aiyuñ kayuñ n-allā-p poruñrayiñ

Meyyurupu tokāa v-iruti y-ðya. (Tol. Col. 105.)

Ex. *alañ-katāi-ë* (Tol. Elut. 1, 30, 62, 72, 434), for (*alañ-katāi-k-kay-η-ë*); *Poruñ rayiñ* for *poruñ-rayiñ-kay* (Tol. Col. 051.), etc. Even in the absence of the locative case-suffix, since the locative meaning was present and the words *kay*, *bal*, *katāi*, *rayiñ*, etc. denoted place, they were mistook for the case-suffixes in later period.

Note 3.—The expression *ayya pīra* in the sūtra may refer to words like *katāi*, *kayiñ*, *mukam*, *il*, *maruñku*, *talī*, etc.

Note 4.—In Naccinārkkiniyar's commentary the following passage is found:—⁴ *Muiñ iranñāvalu mutaliya urupukalai muñitukku etuttōliya kōppu-mutaliya poruñkalai-p-pōla urupai-muñillu nillātu inju-k-kūriya poruñkalai kan-η-eyyim urupaiyē nyariti ninrapa eyyalir cēpāvaraiyaram i-p-poruñkalai urupeigre kūriyār ñyiriyā. Añ-nayañ kūri attu-c-cariyai koñttañ ntārajanāñ bāttavē urupiñ piñgarum attu-c-cōriyai varnial tāvum nērnār-ñyiriyā.* (Since Cēpāvaraiyar says that this sūtra deals with the meanings of the suffix *kay* as the sūtras commencing with *kōppu* etc. deal with those of other cases, he too thinks these meanings as case-suffixes. If so the *cariyai* 'attu' comes after case-suffixes.) Here the statement 'he too thinks these meanings as case-suffixes' conveys no meaning. Hence this passage seems to me to be an

interpolation. Another reason that may be cited in favour of it is that his condemnation of Cēnāvaraiyar seems to have ended before the commencement of this passage.

83. செந்துவை சுருக்கை எஃகும் ஏதே
 ஏற்றுதீச் சுயாதே செந்துவைப் பிரீத
 உண்ட சுலப் சுருக்கைப் பொதக்கும்
 எல்லோடு செந்துவை சுருக்கை.
Vērrumai-p̄ poruṣai virikkun kālai
Iṛṇu-n̄ip̄ t̄iyalun tokai-vayī p̄irintu
Palid t̄-āka-p̄ poruṣ-puṇarn̄ t̄-icaikkum
Ella-e collu m-uriya v-enpa.

When one wants to expatiate the meanings of the cases mentioned above, it is said that all words which are synonymous with the words found (in sūtras 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82) have to be added to the list of words found in each of them.

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that given by Cīvāñgaya-mūḍiyar. I have preferred that meaning since it is the only one that fits in here. The meaning given by each of the other commentators is defective.

Hampūraṇar splits the sūtra into two sūtras the first two lines forming one with the difference that *p̄irintu* is substituted for *p̄irintū* and the last two lines forming the second. The meaning is that if a *vērrumai-t̄-tokai* or a *tatpuruṣa* compound is split a number of words may have to be inserted in addition to the case-suffix. For instance when the word *porroṭi* (golden bracelet) is split, it has to be split as *poruṇal ākiya toṭi*, where the word *ākiya* is inserted and so on. The same is the meaning given by Teyvacilaiyār though he takes all the four lines into one sūtra with the word *p̄irintū* at the end of the second line.

Cēnāvaraiyar and Naccīñārkkiniyar, on the other hand, state that when a *vērrumai-t̄-tokai* (*tatpuruṣa* compound) and an *am̄moṭi-t̄-tokai* (*bahuvrihi* compound) are split, a number of words has to be inserted. The difference between Hampūraṇar and Cēnāvaraiyar is that the former thinks that this sūtra deals how the *vērrumai-t̄-tokai* alone is split and the latter how both *vērrumai-t̄-tokai* and *am̄moṭi-t̄-tokai* are split.

One important defect in these two meanings is that they are out of place. This *iyal* has been dealing with case-suffixes and the meanings of cases and never with the splitting of compounds. Other defects are:—(1) the word *vērrumai-p̄-poruṣ* is taken to

mean *vēzzumai-l-tokai* and the word *īra-nigryalu-tokai* to mean *az̄-moli-t-tokai*. (2) The word *tokai* is taken to mean compound, though it may be taken here to mean collection. (3) Cēnāvaraiyar feeling that, according to his interpretation, this sūtra is out of place says that because Tolkāppiyāñār deals with *tokai-viri* in the following *vēzzumai-mayañkiyal*, he has written this sūtra here. But in the next section which contains 34 sūtras, only 7 sūtras from 94th to 100th deal with compounds; but even they do not seem to deal with *tokai-viri*; nor has Cēnāvaraiyar brought in other words splitting the compounds.

Civāñāgamuniivar condemns Cēnāvaraiyar thus: (1) If the author meant *vēzzumai-l-tokai* he would have said so instead of *vēzzumai-p-pornī*. (2) The compounds are dealt with in *ēcca-v-iyal* and hence *vēzzumai-y-iyal* is not the proper place to deal with *tokai-viri* since it has to deal only with case-suffixes and the meanings of the cases; the *tokai-viri* of *vēzzumai-l-tokai* is learnt from the word *vēzzumai-y-iyal* in the sūtra ' *vēzzumai-l tokaiyē vēzzumai-y-iyal* (Tol. Col. 413); if it is said that the *tokai-viri* has to be definitely explained, there is no sūtra to explain the *tokai-viri* of *utama-t-tokai*.

VĒRRUMAI-Y-IYAL ENDS.

COLLATIKĀRAM.

Vēzzumai-mayañkiyal.

(Chapter on contamination etc.)

84. சுமூ மேவாத் திருத்த செல்லக்
உத்தாப் பூர்வ-பூர்வ கூறுவதோ.
Karuma m-allā-c cārpey kīlavikkī
Urimai-y-u m-njaittē kaṇ-η-ய வēzzumai.

The seventh case also may be used to denote close relationship except direct impact.

Ex. *Aracar-kaṇ cārntāṇ* (He sided the King).

Note. 1.—This chapter deals primarily with the use of one case-suffix for another, (*i. e.*) with contamination. It is called *urupu-mayañkam* from the standpoint that one case-suffix is used for another and *poruñ-nuyañkam* from the standpoint that a case-suffix is used in a meaning other than its own. Since some of the cases are not dropped in Tamil as in Greek and Latin, there is no room for syncretism here.

Note. 2.—*Cārpū* is of two kinds:—*Karuma-c-cārpū* or impact and *karumam-il-cārpū* or close relation other than impact. This sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case in addition to the second case sanctioned by 72nd sūtra in the case of the latter *cārpū*. Hence expressions like 'tūṣin-hat cārnīṇ' (he came in contact with the pillar) is of later date.

Note. 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār says that *karumam* in this sūtra is a *tadbhava* of Skt. *karma* which means object of a transitive verb. But the word *karumam* means, in the opinion of others, *impact*.

Note. 4.—The particle *um* in this sūtra suggests that the use of the second case is more popular than that of the seventh case.

Note. 5.—This sūtra is a *vīśeṣa-vidhi* to the general *vidhi* denoted by *cārtal* in the 72nd sūtra.

85. இன்னோடு செல்ல வாயில் சீர்ப்பு
கூர்த்தி குரை குரைவும் உள்ளது.
Cīyai-nilai-k kīlavi-k h-aiyūn kannum
Vīyai-nilai y-okku m-enmāndr pulavar.

Learned men say that the seventh case is used in the same way as the second after words denoting parts when they qualify verbs other than appellative verbs.

Ex. *hōttai-k-kuraittōn* (He cut off the tusk).

Kōttip-hat kuraittōn (He cut off the tusk).

Note. 1.—The word *vīyai-nilai* means *teri-nilai-vīyai* and is the seventh case here with the suffix dropped; hence the above rule cannot operate if the word denoting part qualifies an appellative verb.

Note. 2.—Since this sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case in place of the second in the same way as the previous one, one may think that this sūtra may be made one with the previous one. But the particle *um* in the previous sūtra suggests that the use of the seventh case in the previous instance is very rare and the use of *okkum* in this sūtra suggests that the use of the seventh case is as free as that of the second.

86. சீர்ப்பு கூரை குரைவு கூரை.
Kannaluffi celaru m-oyrumād̄ vīyaiyē.

Both the seventh and the second cases are used with verbs derived from roots *kayru-* and *cel-*.

Ex. *Cūtigai-k-happrīñāy*; *cūtikai-happrīñāy*.

(He has got a mastery over playing at dice.)

Orai-e-cellum; urimkaṭ cellum.
 (He goes to the village.)

Note. 1.—The words *gṝya* and *gṝya* are taken over to this sūtra; they form the subject of *aygnāvār*; the words *kappalum* and *celam* are taken along with *vītai* which is a word in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped.

Note. 2.—This sūtra sanctions the use of the seventh case-suffix also.

Note. 3.—This sūtra is not made one with the previous sūtra since that deals with the case-suffix affixed to words denoting parts irrespective of the verbs they qualify and this deals with the case-suffixes of the nouns which qualify the verbs derived from the roots *kappu-* and *cel-*.

Note. 4.—Since the use of the second case-suffix was already sanctioned by the 72nd sūtra, it may be sufficient if the use of the seventh case-suffix is sanctioned by this sūtra. But the author has not done so lest one should consider the use of the former to be more frequent than that of the latter.

Note. 5.—In the Saiva-siddhānta edition, the expression ‘*என் பெய்து*’ should be corrected as ‘*ஒடு பெய்து*’.

87. முத்திரை சுருக்கி எந்தொ் சூப்புவு
 முத்திரை விடுவ சிருக்குவ வருமை.
Mutar-cigai-k kīlavi-k k-atu-vu vērrumai
Mutaykai variē cigai-k-k-ai varumē.

If, in a sentence, there is mention denoting whole and part and the sixth case-suffix is used along with the word denoting the whole, the second case-suffix alone is used along with the word denoting the part.

Ex. *Yōyaiyatū kōṭṭai-k kūraittāṇ.*
 (He cut off the tusk of the elephant.)

Hampirapar says that this sūtra is a *pūravāṭai* (exception) to the 85th sūtra. But Cēnāvaraiyar says that this sūtra is a *niyama-vidhi* (*i. e.*) it restricts the application of the 85th sūtra. The opinion of the latter is the correct one.

88. முத்து சூருக்கி எந்தொ் சூப்புவு
 சிருக்குவ வாறு பெய்து போல்.
Mutay-mu y-at-variy han-u-en vērrumai
Cigai-muñ varuia yelli t-enpa.

If the second case-suffix is used along with the word denoting the whole, the seventh case is used along with the word denoting the part.

Ex. *yāgaiyai-k kōṭṭai-k kuraittān*.

(He cut off the elephant at the tusk.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra also is a *niyamavidhi*.

Note. 2.—This sūtra and the previous one are taken as one sūtra by Teyvaccilaiyār. But since it gives room to sentence-split, it is not correct to do so.

Note. 3.—Since sūtras 85, 87 and 88 deal with words denoting whole and part, the sūtra 86 though it does not deal with whole part is read in the middle so that the words *guṇa* *śāṅga* may follow in the 86th sūtra from the 85th sūtra.

Note. 4.—Since expressions like *yāgai-k kōṭṭai-k kuraittān* also began to be used before the time of Ilampūraṇar, he states it as being suggested by the word *tellitū*. But it is clear that such a usage was not current at the time of Tulkappiyār.

Note. 5.—Naccinārkkīniyar takes the previous sūtra as mentioning *urupu-mayakkam* and this sūtra as *porul-mayakkam*. I am unable to understand why a differentiation should be done.

89. சுருக்க தெங்கு சுருக்கோடு எடுத்
பாறு ஏதே சுருக்கி வர்கோ.
Mutalai-ū cīyaiyum porul-ēru புஜா
Nuvalai-ū kālai-e ஏர்-குபிப் பிபவே.

An object cannot, by itself, be taken either as a whole or as a part. It should be suggested by the expression of the speaker.

For instance *yāgai* is a whole in the sentence *yāgaiyai-k kōṭṭai-k kuraittān*, but it is a part in the sentence '*pāṭaiyai-yāgaiyai akharryin*' (he drove away the elephants of the army). Similarly in the former sentence *kōṭṭi* is a part; but in the sentence '*kōṭṭai-nūgaiyai-k kuraittān*' (he cut off the tip of the tusk), *kōṭṭi* is a whole and not a part.

Note. 1.—The expression *சுருக்க தெங்கு* means 'they cannot be differentiated by their meaning'; hence *சுருக்க* is a third case with the case-suffix dropped. The verb *கோடு* is active in form, but passive in meaning.

Note. 2.—This sūtra is intended to understand correctly that the whole and the part are only relative terms.

90. தெங்கு சுருக்க நெலு நினை
நெலுக்கு அங்குமிகு முக்கு முகு.

*Piṇṭa-ṭ̄ peyarn in-āyiyu t̄irlyā
Paṇḍiyoy maruṇkiṇi marfiya marnpē.*

The word denoting collection is of the same nature and should be understood as such from the ancient usage.

Ex. Kuppaiyatu talaiyal-vettiṅgāg; kuppaiyai-t̄ talakkap vettiṅgāg; kuppaiyai-t̄ talaiyai vettiṅgām.

(He cut off the top of the heap.)

Note 1.—It is worthy of note that Tolkäppiyagār did not consider a heap to be a whole.

Note 2.—The word *oṣṭa-* is a *tadbhava* of *piṇḍa*.

91. ḍ̄ḡd̄l̄m̄ Q̄t̄d̄f̄Q̄s̄ ḡuṭ̄l̄d̄ =ḡf̄d̄l̄s̄.
Oru-viṇai y-oṣṭa-e-co l-uyarphiṇ valittē.

The suffix *oṣṭa* (of the third case) is used with the superior of the two when both do the same action.

Ex. Eg magaivi-y-oṣṭu makkaju nivampinār (Pura. 191, 3).
(My children were filled (with wisdom) along with my wife.)

Note 1.—The sūtras from 84 to 90 deal with the optional use of the seventh case in place of the second case. Then the author has taken to speak on the third case.

Note 2.—Hampūraiyar, Cēñavaraiyar and Naceigārkkigiyar interpret *uyarphiṇvalitē* as 'along with the superior' and Teyvacilaiyār as 'along with that which adjoins the superior (i.e.) the inferior. In the instances where *oṣṭa* is used in ancient classics like Pūrāṇāgūru, it is found along with the word denoting the superior. Hence the opinion of the former three seems to be sound. The reason why Teyvacilaiyār has differed from them may be due to two reasons. Pāṇini has stated 'sahayuktē apradhānē' (Aṣṭādhyayi II, 3, 19). Besides in sentences like

'Vanta nampiyai-t̄ tampi tangotū
Muntai nāy-maṇai muṇikku-k kāṭṭi
(Kamparamāyayam I, Kaiyatāi, 17.)

(Having shown to the sage well versed in the ancient four vedas, Rāma who came along with his brother,) the suffix *oṣṭa* is used along with the word denoting the inferior. That he wants to follow Pāṇini is evident from his sentence 'l-p-poruṇ Pāṇīiyārkkum okkum'.

Note 3.—This sūtra should be taken along with 'Ataya ṭ̄yāṇita v-oru-viṇai-k kilavī' in the 74th sūtra.

Note 4.—Ijampūranar explains the use of *oṭu* in the sentence *nāyōṭu nāmipi vantāṇ* (the master came with the dog) by saying that the dog deserved greater recognition for some reason or other—(perhaps gratitude). Cēgāvaraiyar agrees with him in that point and adds that, if it is not the intention of the speaker, the suffix *oṭu* does not denote association.

Note 5.—Cēgāvaraiyar raises the question why this sūtra was not stated next to the 74th sūtra and answers that *Vēṭṭumaiiyal* deals with the cases and their meanings in a general manner and the specialised meanings and uses are dealt with only here.

92. சுவத்தூ மாக்ரங்கி செத்தரை வீது
—கோவை சுவேதை சௌதை மால
செத்தரை வீது மால்வை சுவேத.
Mūḍraṇu m-anṭayin tūra-k kīriya
Akkamōtu puṭaranta v-ēlu-k hijari
Nōkkō r-aṇaiya v-eṇṭayār pularav.

Learned men say that, on careful consideration, the use of the third case-suffix and that of the fifth case-suffix to denote cause when it qualifies a verb formed of the root *a-* (meaning to become) is of the same nature.

- Ex. (1) Vāṇikattāṇ āyināṇ; Vāṇikattāṇ āyināṇ
(He became a man on account of trade.)
(2) Vāṇikattāṇ āya poru; Vāṇikattāṇ āya poru.
(Wealth raised on account of trade.)

Note 1.—Cēgāvaraiyar raises the doubt that this sūtra is unnecessary since it has been said that the third case as well as the fifth denotes cause in the sūtras

Atay-viṭṭai-p-paṭṭal-alayin-āṭal. (Col. 74.)

and

paṭṭumai-paṭṭamai-y-ākkam. (Col. 78.)

respectively and answers the same thus:—Since this chapter deals with *māyakkam* (contamination), the author has mentioned the same here and hence he cannot be charged of having repeated the same. But it seems to me that the same may be answered thus:—The statement *atayi-āṭal* in the 74th sūtra may mean only the cause and need not mean the cause when it is followed by the verb 'to become' and the statement *ākkam* means that the noun in the fifth case should be followed by any word derived from the root *a-*. Hence one may think that, if a word denoting cause is followed by a word derived from the root *a*, only the

fifth case-suffix should be used. This sūtra clears his doubt by saying that the third case-suffix also may be used in such instances.

Note 2.—The word *nōkkī* is a noun in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped.

93. இராய்த் துறை செல்ல செல்கூட
விராய்த் துறை செல்ல செல்கூட
Iraiyat maruñki nōkka yōkkam-av
V-iraiyat maruñki y-ēn-r-n m-aknum.

The verb meaning to observe may be governed not only by a noun in the second case, but also in the third and fifth cases if the observation is not through the physical eye, but through the mind's eye.

Ex. Kōlāg nōkki vāluñ kuṭi; Kōlāg nōkki vāluñ kuṭi.

(The subjects living expecting the righteous rule.)

Note 1.—*Nōkkam* (observation) is of two kinds:—*Nōkkiya nōkkam* (observation by the physical eye) and *Nōkkai-nōkkam* (observation not by the physical eye, i.e., by the mind). This sūtra deals with the use of case-suffixes in the latter case.

Note 2.—One may question why this sūtra which deals with the optional use of the third case-suffix and the fifth case-suffix in the place of the second case-suffix was not placed after the 90th sūtra since it has been said that all the sūtras from 54 to 90 deal with the optional use of other case-suffixes in place of the second. It may have been placed there. But since it deals with the optional use of the third and fifth case-suffixes meaning cause and the 92nd sūtra also deals with them, it has been placed here.

94. பூர்வ செய்திகளைத் தெரிவும் முன்று
பூர்வ வெளிய பொருள்கள் நூன்.
Taṇumāru tolir-peyar-k k-iraiyam māgnūn
Kati-tilai y-itave pāni-royi y-ēya.

The noun (whose case-suffix is dropped) and about the nature of whose action it is difficult to decide is not prevented from being taken either as in the second case or as in the third from the sense.

Ex. In the sentence '*puli koyya yōgai*' it is difficult to decide whether the act of killing rests with the tiger or the elephant, since it is the genius of the Tamil language to use active forms in passive sense. If the act of killing rests with the tiger, the word *puli* should be taken as the noun in the third case so that the expression '*puli koyya yōgai*' means the elephant killed by the tiger;

if, on the other hand, the act of killing rests with the elephant, the word *puli* should be taken as the noun in the second case so that the same expression means the elephant that killed the tiger.

Note.—Though there is no contamination here, yet there is room to take the noun either as one case or as the other. Hence this sūtra finds a place in this chapter.

95. പിലിക്കുന്ന ക്രമം ദാർശി ഉദ്ധവം
സൗഹര്യം ദാർശി ഉദ്ധവം ക്രമം.
Ippu-p̄-poyar mayȳar mey-y-ayi p̄ayavaliy
V̄yvumai teripa r-uñaru m-ōrē.

The intelligent will see the difference from what follows after the last word.

Ex. If one says 'puli koyga yāyai vāntati' it is evident that the elephant killed the tiger since otherwise it could not come. If, on the other hand, one says 'puli koyga yāyai kītāntatū' it is evident that the elephant was killed by the tiger.

Note 1.—This sūtra answers the question which will arise from the previous sūtra 'How is one to decide whether the noun is in the second case or the third?'*

Note 2.—In the previous sūtra, this sūtra and the following few sūtras I have followed the order adopted by Teyvaccilaiyār since it seems to be regular—contamination of the second case, the third case, the fourth case, the fifth case and the sixth case.

Note 3.—The word 'v̄yvumai' in this sūtra means *difference* and not *case*.

96. ദാർശി സൗഹ്യം മുന്നു ഉദ്ധവം
സൗഹ്യം ദാർശി ഉദ്ധവം ക്രമം.
Om̄pañal-k kīlavī-k k-ai-y-u m-āyuu
Tām-p̄iri r-ila-v-ē tokai-taru kālai.

The noun which qualifies a verb meaning to protect may be in the second case or the third case when the case-suffix is dropped.

Ex. *Puli p̄orr̄i vā* may mean 'be protecting a tiger' or remain protected by a tiger.

Note 1.—Cēnāvaraiyār takes the word *tokai* to mean *compound*; it seems it is quite sufficient if it is taken to mean *elision* (of case-suffix). According to him *puli-p̄orr̄i* is a compound word like *nilān-kāñātāy*.

Note 2.—Naccigākkigiyār reads *toka* instead of *tokai*. In the Damodaram Pillai edition of Naccinārkkiniyam the reading

is 'oppa virintu', while the manuscript in the Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, reads 'Oppa virintuli'. The latter reading is better.

Note 3.—Since this sūtra and the sūtra commencing with *Tatnumidu-tojir-poyar* deal with the same cases, *ōmpatai-k-kilavi* may have been read along with *tatnumidu-tojir-poyar* and the two sūtras may have been read as one; but there is one difference; in the former sūtra there is the word *mīyūm* and in the latter *āyūm* and it has nowhere been said that the suffix *dy* belongs to the third case.

Note 4.—Cējavārāiyār says that one may think that this sūtra may have been read with the sūtra commencing with '*Iraṇṭay maruñkig*' and both may have been read as '*Iraṇṭay maruñkig uñka- nōkkamum—ōmpatai-k kilaviyu m-ēturu m-ākum*'; if it was so done, *ōmpatai-k-kilavi* may be qualified by a noun in the fifth-case also. In order to avoid it, the author has not made them into one sūtra.

Note 5.—The word *tām* here is only for euphony.

97. குத்தோர் வாயை சென் சூதி சேஷ
குத்தோர் வாயை குத்தோர் வாயை.
Ku-t-loka varaiku koṭai-y-etiñ kilavi
A-p-poru l-ātay k-urittu m-ākum.

The word denoting the recipient of a gift which can afford to have the suffix *ku* dropped may take the sixth case-suffix also.

Ex. Instead of '*yākar-pali koṭutlāy*' (he gave an oblation to *nākar*) one may say *nākaralu pali koṭutlāy*.

Note 1.—Cējavārāiyār, Nacciyārkkīriyār and Teyvacclaiyār say that this sūtra states that the compound *nākar-pali* may be split as *nākaralu pali*. According to them there is no sanction for the expression '*nākaralu pali*' in usage.

Note 2.—The word *koṭai-y-etiñ-kilavi* means the word denoting the recipient of a gift. The only place where the suffix *ku* may be dropped is in '*nākarkku-p pali koṭutlāy*'. This sūtra enjoins that *nākaralu pali koṭutlāy* also may be used. It is worthy of note that *ku* cannot be elided in the expression '*pali nākarkku-k koṭutlāy*'.

Note 3.—In the Namasivaya Mudaliar's edition of *Ilam-pāram* the expression '*koṭai etirāl eypalu viliyppam-nṭaiyārai mutalyakkōy koṣṭuvaittu virumpi-k-koṭutlāl*' is found. Here *koṭai-etirāl* should be replaced by *koṭai* since the statement '*viliy-*

pam-utaiyārai..kotuttal is the meaning of *kotai* and not of *kotai-y-ettiral*. Hence the first meaning of the word *kotai-y-ettiral* given in the Tamil Lexicon is incorrect.

Note 4.—Since the previous sūtra ended with the contamination of the third case, this sūtra deals with that of the fourth case.

Note 5.—The particle 'uru' in the sūtra suggests that such a usage as *nākaratu pali* is rare.

98. சீரை தெவில் மாக்கி அதைது
நீர் வீரை சுருக்கவுட் கூர.
Acca-k kūlavi-k k-aintu m-iratnum
Ecca m-ilare poru!-vayi ய-dya.

A verb denoting fear may be qualified by a noun either in the fifth case or the second case.

Ex. Paliyin aīcum; Paliyai aīcum,
(He is afraid of calamity.)

Note 1.—Since the use of the fifth case is sanctioned by 'accam' in the 78th stanza, one may doubt that the use of the second case-suffix sanctioned by 72nd sūtra is nullified. This sūtra removes his doubt.

Note 2.—Cēgāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar state that this sūtra enjoins that the compound word *pali-y-aīcum* should be split as *paliyai aīcum* also.

Note 3.—The use of such expressions as 'vaiśai-kājalutarku aīca-vēñđā' (one need not fear for the bracelets to slip down) shows that the fourth case also began to be used in later times.

Note 4.—This sūtra deals with the contamination of the fifth case,

99. அதனேல் சோதமா புதினோஷ் சோதமாவிள்
அதன் தாறுபேச்சு குணம் வரும்.
Atu-v-eñ vēryumai y-uyartimai-t ikhai-vayiñ
Atu-v-e ய-urupu-keja-k kukaram varumē.

When a word in the sixth case is followed by an *uyartiyai* noun, the suffix *atu* is replaced by *ku*.

- Ex. 1. Pataikkut talaivag.
(Leader of the army.)
2. Nampikku-makan.
(Son of Nampi)

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that adopted by Ilampūraṇar. According to it this sūtra enjoins that, if the noun that is qualified by a noun in the sixth case is an *nyartiyai*, the suffix *ati* should not be used and it should be replaced by the suffix *ku*. Cēnāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār interpret the sūtra thus:—The *nyartiyai* compound whose members have the relation denoted by the sixth case should have, when it is analysed, the suffix 'ku' at the end of the first member and not 'ati'. There are three defects in this interpretation:—(1) Does he mean by the word *nyartiyai-t-tokai* a compound made up of two words, both of which are *nyartiyai* or only the second member? If it is the latter, what is the reason to interpret it in that manner? (2) The word 'keta' in the sūtra does not suit well. Cēnāvaraiyar explains that *keta* suggests the meaning *non-appearance* instead of *disappearance*. (3) There will be no sūtra to sanction the use of the suffix 'ku' in such expressions as *Pāṭaikku-t-talaivay'* 'Nampikku makai', etc. Naccipāṭkkipiyār interprets it thus:—The suffix 'ku' is used when a *nyartiyai* compound is analysed, the sixth case will be used without the suffix *ati*. In the former part of the interpretation he agrees with Cēnāvaraiyar and the example for the latter part is '*nīg makay'*. The defects in this interpretation are: (1) There is sentence-split. (2) The second part is unnecessary since there is a sūtra which enjoins that the case-suffixes may be dropped when the nouns which have them precede those which they qualify. Besides he condemns Ilampūraṇar by saying that such expressions as '*nīgakku makai*' should not be used and they should be read '*nīgakku makai ākiyarn*'. But there is a sentence '*pāṭijikk...pāṭimakay*' in the 11th stanza of Puranāṅgū supporting the interpretation of Ilampūraṇar. The commentator on Puranāṅgū also agrees with Ilampūraṇar.

Note 2.—This sūtra deals with the contamination of the sixth case.

Note 3.—It deserves to be noted that the word 'tokai' here does not mean *compound*, but it means *association* in the same way as the word *tokuli* in the sūtra

*Iyaittena v-agintā ciṇai-nantay kīlavikkū
Viyai-p-pāṭai tokutiyā p-anumai vēṇūnum.* (Tol. Col. 33.)

100. ஆன் அகும்பேச வாழ்ச்சிக் கிழவைக்கு
ஏழ் மாடு குறைபாலி தான்.

Ātāv marūñkīm vālci-k tilāmaikkī
Ēlu m-āku m-ūgai-nilat t-āga.

The seventh case also may be used instead of the sixth case with nouns denoting the dwelling place when its relation to the noun which it qualifies is that of the land inhabited and the inhabitant.

Ex. Kāttīngkān yānai; kāttātu yānai.
 (Elephant in the forest.)

Note.—This sūtra also deals with the contamination of the sixth case.

101. அங்க ப்ரதீக செல்லுவத வெடியாத
 உருபியும் பொன்னியும் வெழ்த மறி
 இருங்கி விளையுக் கூற்றுவது வெள்ளும்
 திரிப்பி எல்லை பெறிய சுனிச்சை,
Ayya pīravusū tōyyeri pīlāiyātū
Urupīyūm porūpīyūm nīcī-tātu māri
Iru-vayi pīlāiyūm vēyyumai y-ellām
Tiripīpa y-ilavē teriyu m-ōr-k-ke,

There is no confusion in the minds of the learned with regard to the use of one case-suffix for another or of one case-suffix used in the sense of another case-suffix similar to the cases mentioned above if it is in conformity with the ancient usage.

Ex. 'Cāttanōtu vekuntān' for cāttanai vekuntāng
 (He felt angry with Cāttāng) etc.

Note 1.—This sūtra suggests that it is impossible to give a comprehensive list of all cases of contamination.

Note 2.—The word *īrasayiññilātyum* is taken to mean by Ilampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār 'in both the places where one case-suffix is used for another and where one case-suffix is used in the sense of another case-suffix'; but on the other hand Cējāvarsaiyar and Naccinārkkiniyār take it to mean 'in both the places where a case-suffix has its original meaning and that of another case-suffix'. The former interpretation is better.

Note 3.—Thus we see that the sūtras 84 to 101 deal with contamination.

Note 4.—From this sūtra it is evident that there should have been a vast literature in Tamil at the time of Tolkāppiyār. It is unfortunate that we are not in possession of any of them.

102. உருபுதூர்க் தட்டிய கூற்றுவதச் சொ
 ஹுமிசோச் சொல்ல பொருள்செல் மருக்சை,

*Urupu-tojarn t-ātukkiya vērrumai-k kīlavi
Oru-coy uṭṭaiya foru-j-eug maruṅke.*

Words having the same case-suffix may be treated as if they are one if the sense allows it (i.e.) they may qualify the same word.

Ex. *Antaṇar nūlkum agattikum āti* (Kugal. 543)
(That which preceded Vedas and Dharma).

Note 1.—*Vērrumai-k-kīlavi* generally means case-suffix. Here it should be taken to denote a word with a case-suffix. Hence this suggests a *paribhāṣā* that wherever case-suffix is mentioned, the noun with the case-suffix should be taken if it is suggested by the context.

Note 2.—In the interpretation of this sūtra the commentators disagree. Ilampūraṇar takes the word *urupu* in the sense *pola urupu*; but he has not explicitly stated that they should not be the same suffix though in the examples ‘yāṇaiyatū kōṭṭai nūgik-k-kaṭ kuzaittāy’, ‘Tigaiyir kīlīyai-k-kaṭiyum’ which he has given, only different suffixes are used. Cēñāvaraṇiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have stated that the same suffix should be repeated as ‘ennoju niyyoju’. The former condemns Ilampūraṇar that in the examples given by him there is no *aṭukkū* since *nūgikkaṇ* and *kīlīyai* are only *aṭai-moli* (adjunct) to the verbs *kuzaittāy* and *kaṭiyum* respectively. Naccipārkīṇiyar condemns Cēñāvaraṇiyar that they are not *aṭai-moli*, but does not discuss whether they are *aṭukkū* or not. He states examples wherein words having the same suffix are read together, as also words with different suffixes. When we take into consideration the word ‘aṭukkū’, the interpretation of Cēñāvaraṇiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be sound.

103. இறைவு வினாய் சூலை ஏதும்
கெற்று சூருதை விவரம் கொள்ளி,
Izutiyu m-iṭaiyu m-ellā v-urupum
Neri-paṭu foru-j-vayi ṣilavutal varaiydr.

(Learned men) do not prevent words having different case-suffixes at the middle and at the end of the expression from qualifying the same (finishing) word.

Ex. (*Cāttanatu*) aṭaiyai valiyinjār kūṭṭiṇkan parittāy.
(He took by force Cāttan's cloth in the forest).

Note 1.—The word *urupu* in the sūtra should be taken in the same way as *vērrumai-k-kīlavi* in the preceding sūtra.

Note 2.—The meaning given above is that given by Teyvacilaiyār. It is only in his interpretation this sūtra has a bearing to the previous sūtra and the following sūtra. The interpretation of Ilampūraṇar, Cēnāvaraiyar and Naccipārkkipiyar is as follows:—Words with case-suffixes may stand both in the middle of sentences and at their end. Ilampūraṇar does not seem to have noted the difference between *āṭai cāttayatū* (the cloth belongs to Cāttan) and *cāttayatū āṭai* (Cāttan's cloth). Cēnāvaraiyar and Naccipārkkipiyar have noted it. The former has suggested that a word in the seventh case may be used at the end or the middle, of a sentence only if it qualifies a verb and not if it qualifies a noun. For instance the expression ‘*kugrattukkai-kūkai*’ (the owl on the rock) cannot be optionally used as ‘*kūkai kugrattukkai*’. Civanāgamunivar states that this sūtra speaks of the usage in Sanskrit that no word should have its suffix dropped. Since Tolkaṇṇipiyar has to write sūtras dealing only with Tamil usage, Civanāgamunivar's view is not sound.

Note 3.—The sentence “*Iru-peyarkkākum’ engrōtappatṭa urupu-tamimaiyē īgutiyum ītaiyum nīgkum ega vākuttu-k-kūriṇāṇ egpatū*” found in Cēnāvaraiyam seems to be an interpolation. It is not in conformity with his statements mentioned previous to it. Civanāgamunivar condemns him for this sentence.

Note 4.—If we take the interpretation of Teyvacilaiyār here, one may question how we get sanction for the use of words with case-suffixes at the end of sentences. It is suggested by the sūtra,

Aiyuñ kāñnu m-allō-p poruñ-rayin

Moy-y-urupu tokāa v-iruti y-ōga. (Col. 105.)

Note 5.—In Naccipārkkipiyam the sentences ‘*cāttayatū āṭai engpuli...viṭaikkurippāyippū*’ are found. They seem to be interpolation since the same idea has been stated by the sentence ‘*Iruti-k-kai nīzrakkāl viṭaikkurippām egru ujarka.*’

104. கீத பி சீத்து முருகேஸ விருதை

கீதை விழவே விழவே கீதை.

Piritu-piri t-ēṭṭalu m-urupu-toka varutalum

Ner-i-paṭa valāñkiya vali-marun k-enpa.

It is said that usage sanctions nouns with case-suffixes qualifying different words in the middle and end of sentences and with the case-suffixes being dropped.

Ex. Kātaliyāi-k koṇtu kavunti-y-ōtu kūj kōvalan ceprān

(Kōvalan went taking his wife and meeting with Kavunti).

Nilai kaṭantāñ (He crossed the land).

Ciggil narrūñ pargi (Taking hold of the well-made pillar in the toy-house).

Note 1.—The meaning given above is that of Teyvaccilaiyār. Since the previous two sūtras have stated that words with case-suffixes qualify the same word, the former part of this sūtra enjoins that they may qualify different words. In so doing, that the case-suffixes also may be dropped is sanctioned by the second part of the sūtra.

Note 2.—The words *iyntiyum*, *iiayum* and *ellē turupum* are taken here from the previous sūtra.

Note 3.—The former part of this sūtra is interpreted by Ilampūraṇar, Cēnāvaraiyar and Naccīgārkkiniyar that one case suffix may be super-imposed to another. Though it has been said as a general case, they say that only the sixth case-suffix will be superimposed by another case-suffix, preferably an unlike suffix. Examples are *cattanatayai*, *cattayatayāl*, etc., *cattayatayatū* also may be used. Teyvaccilaiyār points out two defects in their interpretation:—(1) *Cattayatū* in *cattayatayai* does not mean Cāltan's, but means Cāttaiy's object and hence it is not a noun in the sixth case, but a noun in the nominative case. (2) If, otherwise, Cāttayatayai should have the same meaning as Cāltanai, which is not the case. Teyvaccilaiyār is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation.

Note 4.—Since the elision of the case-suffixes is said in connection with *vēyyūmai-i-lokai* in *Ecca-v-iyal*, why should the same be enjoined here? Teyvaccilaiyār answers this question by saying that the elision of case-suffix mentioned in *ecca-v-iyal* is in connection with a compound and its mention here is intended where there is no compound. For instance in the expression *ciggil narrūñ pargi*, *ciggil* is a noun in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped and *narrūñ* is a noun in the second case with the case-suffix dropped.

Note 5.—The word *neri-pata-valatūkiya-vali-marūñkiy* means 'in accepted usage'.

105. ஸுஷ் சீர்க்கு மலையூ சுரக்கூவூலூ
கூஷ்கு சூரை விதி மூ.
Aiyūñ kānnu. m-allā-p̄ porūñ-vayiy
Mey-y-urupū tokāa v-iyuli y-iyū.

No case-suffix will be elided at the end of a sentence except those of the second and the seventh.

Ex. *Vām ēttukam palavē* (Pura. 10, 13.)

[We shall extol many (of your qualities)].

Nalla illa ākupa . . . akangyalai nōtē (Pura. 7, 13.)

(Let the good become extinct in the wide land.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra is important since it has given rise to the notion that the words *kāl*, *akam*, *pūrṇam*, *nayin*, *katai* etc. are seventh case-suffixes. For instance in the word '*māṇyatalāñ-katai-y-ē*' of the first sūtra of Tolkāppiyam, the word *katai* is a noun meaning place and the seventh case-suffix *kāñ* is dropped on the strength of this sūtra, since the root '*al*' cannot have the seventh case-suffix with the cāriyai '*am*' in the middle. But later scholars take it to be a seventh case-suffix.

106. அந் துபவி க.தி தும்பை

குருதிசெல் அஞ்சித் தெப்பூா ஏது.

Yāta u-urupiñ kāriy t-ayiyum

Poruñ-ēen maruñkēn vērrumai cārumi.

The meaning of the case-suffix can be taken in whatever form it is given expression to.

Ex. *Oru-katai kōntu mīt-t-eyil utarri* (Pura. 55, 2.)

(Having destroyed three forts with one arrow.)

Note. 1.—Here the word *kōntu* serves the purpose of the third case-suffix. Such words became to be called *collurupū*. This the only sūtra which sanctions it.

Note. 2.—Here the word *urupi* does not mean case-suffix, but *form* as in the sūtra,

A-m-mū u-urupiñ tōyra l-ārē (Col. 160.)

Note. 3.—The meaning given above belongs to Teyvaccilaiyār. The other three think that this sūtra means that, whatever be the case-suffix, it should be taken to have the meaning of such case-suffix as suits the context. If that is taken to be the meaning of this sūtra, it may be said that it simply repeats the idea contained in the 101st sūtra mentioned above. Hence the interpretation of Teyvaccilaiyār is sound.

107. ஏதைச்சு தெப்பூா க.தி மூவி

குருதீ சிலை தெப்பூா க.தெலை.

Etirnayuttu moliyigun tattā marapit

Poruñlai tiriya vērrumai-c-colle.

Case-suffixes will have the same meaning even when they qualify a negative verb.

Ex. *Yālojuñ kollā* (Pura. 92, 1.)

(They cannot be in harmony with the sound produced by *yāl*.)

Note. 1.—This sūtra clears the doubt whether case-suffixes may be used along with negative verbs since the doer, object, instrument etc. can be had only by a positive verb.

108. கு அவைய வாட மதி
அவ்வோட வங்குத் தேவு குன்னே.
Ku ai ñy-eyā varūñ m-iyñli
A-vv-oyñ civaññi seyyuñ l-ai-llē.

The words having suffixes *ku*, *ai* and *ñy* at the end of a line may be appended by the particle 'a' in verse.

Ex. *Ilāru niñaiyu m-eyñnu varu-vañi*
Neñu-matali kuñukalai m-ikaram varutaluñ
Kañinilai y-iyge y-äciri yarkka. (Tol. Elut. 390.)
Kāra lōga-k koñgaiñ cuñ-ñē.
Aiyuñ kañgu m-allū-pi pōrñ-vayiy
Mey-y-urupu tolāa v-iyuti y-ñyā. (Tol. Col. 105.)

109. குன்னு பிரத வெற்பை மருக்கற
குந்னு ஒபு வெற்பை வெற்பு.
A-eyā-pi piratta l-añgiñai marukkiri
Kuñnum ai-yu m-illeya molipa.

'*Ku*' and '*ai*' cannot be appended by 'a' if they are suffixed to *añgiñai* names.

Note. 1.—This sūtra suggests that only *ey* may be appended by 'a' when it is suffixed both to *uyarttai* and *añgiñai* nouns.

110. இதை சிதமிழ் சென்றும் இசையும்
அதையை இளைக்கும் பொறுத்து குறுகும்
அதைப் பெய்துப் பெற்ற இசையும்
குறுத்தென்று உடமுத்துப் பெய்துப் பெற்றுக்கூறுக
பால்வாச இசையும் பால்வி குத்தகூறுக
ஈவத்து ஏற்பும் கெற்றுவாச இசையும்
பற்றுத்து கொய்வும் இத்தெருமைக் கொல்லும்
ஈவதை பிரத என்ற குழுவிலை
கொல்லுவதை பிரத வைக்க
Itaya l-ilivit peyayum kiñaviyum
Añgai-k kolñum pōrñ-vayi y-ñyam
Aiñgy seyar-pōrñay k-alla kiñaviyum
Mugai-k-koy f-velunta peyar-e-cor kiñaviyum
Pōl-varai kiñaviyum pōyri y-ñkkamaiñ

*Kälatti p-ariyum vērrumai-k kilaviyum
Paru-vitu kīlaviyum tiruṇu-moli-k kīlaviyum
Appa piṇam nāgka-p-urupiṇ
Tōṇeṇi marapiṇa tōṇya l-ēṛē.*

The fourth case is used from very ancient times in the following meanings:—in place of the sixth case in such sentences as 'this of this is of this sort'; in place of the second case in expressions like 'this will hold that'; in the place of the third case in sentences like 'this is fit to be done by him'; in place of sixth case denoting relationship; in place of the fifth case denoting the exact position of land and comparison; in place of the seventh case denoting time; and before the roots *paru-vitu* and *tir-* which generally take the fifth case.

- Ex. (1) *Vāṇikku-k hōṭu kūritū.*
(The tusk of the elephant is sharp.)
- (2) *Ivaṭku-k kōlum i-p-u-apī.*
(This ornament will suit her.)
- (3) *Āvaraṇa-e ceyya-t-takum i-k-kāriyam.*
(This act deserves to be done by him.)
- (4) *Āvīku-k kāyri.*
(The calf of the cow.)
- (5) *Karuvārkku-k kīlakkik.*
(East of Karūr.)
- (6) *Cāttarku neṭiyān.*
(He is taller than Cāttan.)
- (7) *Kōlakku varum.*
(He comes in the morning.)
- (8) *Maṇai-wūlhaikku-p paru-vitṭān.*
(He extricated himself from the attachment of a house-holder.)
- (9) *Urku-t tirntōy.*
(He removed himself from the village.)

Note 1.—Under *appa piṇam* examples like 'kappani niruttal eliṭṭo...kuyil akavuṇ kural kēṭpōrkkū (Akanānūrū, 97) (Is it easy to refrain from weeping for those who have the sweet notes of the cuckoo?).

Note 2.—Why should not the author have stated this sūtra after 100th sūtra, since this also deals with contamination? He may have done it. But Cēṇāvaraiyar says that sūtras from 84 to 100 dealt with the contamination of the case-suffixes used

in splitting compounds and this sūtra does not deal with the splitting of compounds.

111. ஏன் முழு அநை வர்த்த
 வர் வெளி செதிர்முறை வர்.
 புயி ய-நிறுபு ம-முயா மாரபினா
 முயா ம-இலை கூ-நிறுயி ய-முயா.

There will be no harm if other case-suffixes also are used in a similar manner.

Ex. 'Nūlai-k kurrañ kūriyāñ' in place of 'nūlatu kurrañ kūriyāñ. (He found fault with the work.)

Note 1.—The reading in all the books at the beginning of the second line is *māyam* and it means harm. It seems to me that *mānam* is a *tadbhava* and the Sanskrit word *māna* does not have that meaning. Hence my conjecture is that it should be *āyam*, the *tadbhava* of *hāyam*. One should explain the appearance of 'm' at the beginning. In sūtras like 'vallelutta mikigu māya m-ilai' (Tol. Elut. 231, 247, etc.) the splitting should have been wrongly done thus—*valleluttu mikigu* *māyam ilai*. Since Tolkāppiyār is fully conversant with Sanskrit, I am sure he would not have committed this mistake. In later Tamil lexicons like 'Cūḍāmaṇi' the word *mānam* has been given the meaning *harm*.

112. ஏன்-ன செவ்வை செவ்வை செவ்வை
 செவ்வை என் கலை செவ்வை
 செவ்வை செவ்வை என் செவ்வை
 செவ்வை என் செவ்வை செவ்வை
 செவ்வை செவ்வை செவ்வை என் செவ்வை.
 Vigaiyē ceyvaiñ ceyappaiñ porul-ē
 Nilay-ē kālaiñ karuvi y-eyrā
 Iyyaiar-ē k-idu-paya y-āka v-eyvai
 Ayya marapi y-iruṇṭuñ tokai
 A-y-eñ f-eypa toluy-nata yilaiyē.

(Learned men) say that there are eight things that should precede an action:—*ekti* (effort within the body of the doer), doer, object, place, time, instrument, the recipient and the purpose of doing.

Note 1.—The word *vigai* in this sūtra means *kṛī* and not *kṛīyā*. But Cēpāvaraiyar mistakes *vigai* to mean *kṛīyā*; this is unsound since *kṛīyā* cannot precede *kṛī*. Naccinārkkāṇiyar takes *vigai* to mean the verbal roots like *uṇ*, *tuṇ* etc.; this is also

unsound since the verbal roots are not one of the requisites for an action to take place.

Note. 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes *teilin-mutangilai* to mean *kārakam*. Since *vigai* is not a *kārakam*, this interpretation is unsound.

Note. 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār states that the fifth case meaning is not mentioned here perhaps with the idea that it is not a *kārakam*; but it seems to be that the word *nūdug* may stand both for the seventh case meaning and as the fifth case meaning.

Note 4.—The word *mutangilai* means 'that which precedes' and hence 'cause'.

Note 5.—The mention of '*īppaiarkū*' and '*tilu payay āka*' as a group separated from '*vigai*', '*ceyanātū*', '*ceya-p-paṭu-poru*', '*viḍay*', '*kālam*' and '*karuvi*' is due to the fact that the former group is not so important as the latter.

Note 6.—Cēñāvaraiyār says that, though the case meanings have been mentioned in *vēṇumaiyiyal*, this sūtra is necessary since here the word *ceyappatuporu* gives the meaning of the second case in a comprehensive manner; *karuvi* includes *ēṭū*, *kālam* includes *vigai-cey-y-iṭam* and it has newly mentioned *vigai*. But it seems to me that, had it not been for this sūtra, 71st sūtra cannot be taken to mention the object as the meaning of the second case; besides this sūtra serves as a sort of introduction to the 114th sūtra.

113. அவிதாம்

அப்பியன் மருக்கிற குத்தன குன்றம்.

Avi-tām

Vaṭāñkīyāy maruṅkīr kūnṛūva kūṛyūm.

Some of them may not be used in actual usage.

Note 1.—This sūtra is important since, otherwise, it may be taken that all the eight mentioned in the previous sūtra should be mentioned in a sentence.

114. முதலிற் கழக்கு சிலையற் கொவியஞ்

சிலையற் கூது முதலிற் கொவியங்

பிரக்காவிழ் ஏதும் வள்ளுவினாச் செய்கு

இயன்றது மூலியது மிருவிய செட்டிக்

விலைகுத் தாங்காகு விலைகுத் தாங்காகி

அலையாச பொனை மாக்குவியக் கொல்.

Mutalir kāruṇi cīlai-y-ari kiṭavīyūn

Cīlai-y-ir kāruṇi mutal-ari kiṭavīyūm

*Piranta-voli-k kūṭalum pani-pu-kol peyarnu
 Iyayratu molatalu m-irupayar-i-ofium
 Vingai-mata I-uraikkun kilavryotu tokai
 Agaya-mara piyanē t-ākupeyar-k kilavi.*

Ākupeyar or metonymy is of the following kinds:—whole is put for the part, part for the whole, the place of production for the product, quality for the object possessing it, cause for effect, *irupayar-ofiu* or the compound made up of two words of which the second member denotes a part and the first an object similar to it or its action, the doer for the object done etc.

- (1) *Tēṇku thiyyū*.
 (He ate the cocoanut.)

Tēṇku generally means 'cocoanut tree'. Here it means cocoanut fruit.

- (2) *Pani-var cimaiyam̄ kilyam̄ pōki* (Maturakkāñci, 1+8.)
 (Having traversed through the forests full of mountains covered with snow).

Cimaiyam which generally means 'peak' denotes here 'mountains having peaks.'

- (3) *Cil-pān-kalinakkattal* (Kalittokai, 56.)
 (She wears the cloth made in Kalinga which has a few flowers).
 (4) *Muruku uralḡ-l talai-c-ceyru* (Maturakkāñci, 181.)
 (Having gone against (the enemies) like *Murukay*.

Here the quality *Murukin* is put for *Murukay*.

- (5) *I-k-kutam̄ pōi*.
 (This pot is gold.)

Here the word *pōi* is put for the object made of *pōi*.

- (6) (a) *Tuti-y-itai vaniāl*.
 (The woman, having her waist like *tuti*, came.)
 (b) *Ir-ōti y-ey-tūlyum̄ varum̄* (Akanāñgrū 107.)
 (My friend also who has her hair cool comes.)

- (7) *Tiruvaljuvar pāti*.
 (Read the *Kuṭṭi* written by *Tiruvaljuvar*).

Note 1.—Some may question the need of this sūtra here. But from the 112nd sūtra the sentences like *taikku thiyyū*, may be viewed as incorrect since *teṇku* is not any one of the eight mentioned above. But since such sentences have come in vogue, their usage must receive the sanction of Tolkäppiyāñar. Hence he has read this sūtra here.

Note 2.—As regards *iru-peyar-offū* there is difference of opinion among commentators. Ijampūraṇar and Cēnāvaraīyar feel that it is identical with *aymoḷi-t-tokai*; Naccinārkkiniyar takes compounds like *makkat-cuttū* in Tol. col. i where the second member denotes by metonymy *cuttappafum-poruḷ*, as *iru-peyar-offū*. Civāñāgamuniyar agrees with Naccinārkkiniyar. Teyvacilaiyār, on the other hand, takes such instances like *luṇi-y-iyal* and *tōl-kuṭal* as are taken by others as *uvama-t-tokai-p-purattu-p-piṇanta-v-aymoḷi-t-tokai* and *vijai-t-tokai-p-purattu-p-piṇanta-v-aymoḷi-t-tokai* and states two reasons for his view:—(1) Tolkāppiyār has not stated in 418th sūtra *uvama-t-tokai-p-purattu-p-piṇanta-v-aymoḷi-t-tokai* and *vijai-t-tokai-p-purattu-p-piṇanta-v-aymoḷi-t-tokai* and (2) the second member of the compound here is connected with the whole which the compound denotes, while that of *aymoḷi-t-tokai* is not connected with it. Teyvacilaiyār's opinion seems to agree with Tolkāppiyār.

Note 3.—Since in the opinion of Cēnāvaraīyar, *iru-peyar-offū* and *aymoḷi-t-tokai* are identical, he raises the question that this need not be mentioned here since *aymoḷi-t-tokai* is treated in *ecca-v-iyal* and answers it thus:—in the section on compounds he mentioned *aymoḷi-t-tokai* and in the section dealing with nouns as *iyan-peyar* and *āku-peyar* he has mentioned *iru-peyar-offū* here. The reason does not seem to be sound.

Note 4.—Under *vinai-nimta-nraikkuñ-kilavī*, Ijampūraṇar has given *Tolkāppiyam*, *Kapilam* as examples. Since they are different from the words *Tolkāppiyam* and *Kapilam* Cēnāvaraīyar condemns Ijampūraṇar. Naccinārkkiniyar cites under this sūtra the example '*I-v-vāṭai kōlikai*' given by Cēnāvaraīyar and under the sūtra '*kīlanta v-allā vēru-piṇa tōṅginum*' (Tol. Col. 117) the examples '*Tolkāppiyam*' and '*Kapilam*'. This is one of the instances wherein Naccinārkkiniyar sides both with Ijampūraṇar and Cēnāvaraīyar when both of them differ in their opinion.

Note 5.—In Cēnāvaraīyam the sentence '*Āku-peyar eluvāy-vēṛṛumai-mayakkam-ātalāy inṭu kūriyār-eṇḍrāl Uraiyācīriyār-eṇḍi*' is found. This sentence is not found in the Nattasivaya Mudaliyar's Ijampūraṇam edition. But Naccinārkkiniyar states at the last sūtra of this chapter '*I-v-v-āku-peyarkaḷ eluvāy-vēṛṛumai-mayakkam-eṇḍu uṇarka*'. If he had stated this after meeting the objections raised by Cēnāvaraīyar against Ijampūraṇar, it would have been correct.

115. அமலங்கி

தாக்க பொருள்வாய் தாக்கவை சொல்லு
ஷப்பின் வழியாற் பித்துப்பொருள் எட்டுவா
க்குப்பு வெளை தாக்குக் கால
ஒற்றுமை முறுக்கி போற்று சொல்லும்.
Avaiilum

Tattam-porn̄l-vayir-gommoñi cīvāñalum
Oppū valiyōr-pītū-porn̄l cūñalum
A-p-pāñ piyavē nuvaluñ kālai
vēyrumai manūñkīr pōrgal vēyrumai.

They are of two kinds; one denoting those that are connected with them and the other denoting those that are not connected with them. If there is any deviation in the literature, they should be taken into account.

Note.—This sūtra deals with another kind of classification of ākupeyar. I think that *tattam-porn̄l-vayir-gommoñi cīvāñal* and *Ajahallakṣaṇā* are identical and *oppū-valiyōr-pītū-porn̄l-cūñal* and *Jahallakṣaṇā* are identical. The fourth line, in my opinion should be a different sūtra dealing with *Jahad-agahal-lakṣaṇā*. Ilampūrānar and Naccigārkkiṇiyar take it as a separate sūtra, but they interpret *vēyrumai* as *case-suffix* instead of *deviation*. Teyvacclaiyār takes all the four lines as one sūtra and states that ākupeyar is of four kinds:—*tattam-porn̄l-vayir-cīvāñal*, *tattam-porn̄l-vayir-gommoñi cīvāñal*, *oppū-valiyōr-cūñal* and *pītū-porn̄l-cūñal* and interprets *vēyrumai* to be the *case-suffix*. Cēñāvaraiyār also takes all the four lines into one sūtra and takes *a-p-pīyavē* to be the adjunct of *vēyrumai*.

116. அளவு எங்கும் கொண்டு
உங்கள் சூந்தி அனுத்தி கொண்டு,
Alasu nīraiyin m-ஏற்றுத் தீவு-வாி
Ula-v-எந மேஜ்பா t-ஏற்றந்தி பூரே.

Learned men say that words denoting measures and weights are taken with them.

Ex. (1) *Kuññi koju.*

[Give me a *kuññi* (four measures of corn)].

(2) *Oru cēr koju.*

[Give me one seer (of oil, etc.)].

Note 1.—These are cases of *jahad-agahal-lakṣaṇā*. In order to serve as an introduction to this I think we should take the fourth line of the previous sūtra as a separate one.

Note 2.—Cēgāvaraiyar and Naccigārkkiniyar think that the words denoting numbers are not *ākupeyar*; they have said so perhaps because similar words in Sanskrit denote both numbers and numerical objects. Cīvāññamunīvar condemns them, I agree with Cīvāññamunīvar.

117. சுரை வீச சௌமிய சூதாப்பா
 சுரைய வீச சூதாப்பா சூதா
Kilanta v-allā vēsu-piṭa tōṇṭiṇi
Kilantaraṭ piṭala ḡ-unāntagār koṭale.

If anything not mentioned here appears in literature, it should be taken into account on the lines chalked above.

Ex. *yāl kōṭīyāj.*

(He listened to the notes of *yāl*)

(Here the instrument *yāl* is put for its notes.)

Yūjai mūntāy.

(Elephant-like person came.)

(Here the word *yūjai* refers to a person resembling it.)

Note—This sūtra suggests that the kinds of metonymy are so varied that they have not been mentioned in an exhaustive manner in the 114th sūtra.

Vērrumai-mayañkiyal ends.

NAMPALI GRANT
Plate I.

To face page 61.





Plate II (a).

To face page 61.

Plate II (b).

To face page 62.





Plate III,

To face page 62

AN INSCRIBED POT FROM NANDURU

BY

PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

The existence of the inscribed earthenware pot which forms the subject of this paper was first signified to me some months ago by Pandit Vétri Prabhakara Sastri of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. He also gave me for inspection two photographs of the pot, and then, at my particular request, he arranged for the pot being brought over to Madras for further examination and study. I took fresh photographs of the pot and impressions of the short inscription on it and these are now being published. I have often discussed with Mr. Prabhakara Sastri the questions centering round this inscribed pot and I owe many suggestions to him.

Provenance:—The pot now belongs to the Sāradā-niketana, a well-known girls' school maintained in the city of Guntur by Mr. Unnava Lakshminarayana, Bar-at-law and his wife, Mrs. Laksmiti Bai. It was discovered at Nagdfuru some three to four years ago—more precise information regarding the time of discovery has not reached me—in the course of a digging for what is known as *pūti-mayam*, lit. earth from ruins, for use in rice-fields; the workmen came upon what looked like the remains of an old brick wall, which turned out to be a brick encasement for the pot which forms the subject of this paper; it is owing to this encasement that the pot has been recovered entire, except for a small fracture near the mouth. I am not in a position to give any measurements relating to the size of the encasement or of the bricks comprising it. Nor have I seen the platter-like lid which is said to fit the mouth of the pot exactly. Some ashes are said to have been found in the pot at the time of the discovery, they do not seem to have been preserved and no information is forthcoming about the nature of the ash.

Nagdfuru is a village in the Bapatla Taluk of the Guntur district, ten miles to the north of Bapatla, the Taluk centre. It is about 20 miles S. W. of Bhadrīpṛlu, the traditional spot of the celebra-

ed. Bhattirolu caskets, and about seven miles due W. of Tsandavolu, which, under the name of Dhanadapura, was once the capital of the Velanāḍu kings.

Measurements: In shape, the pot looks very much like one of the big burial urns recovered from Alūdīccanallur and Perumbeir and preserved in the Madras Museum. The height of the pot is 5½", its circumference is 11" near the mouth and 16" at the level of the inscription, and a little more, somewhat lower, at its widest. The bottom is rounded and the pot cannot be easily seated erect without other support. Three simple lines, rather deeply incised, two above and one below the inscription, are the only ornamental features on the pot, besides the repetition of the double-line (in raised strands) a little higher up near the mouth, the two lines being in either case separated by 2/10". The clay has been well and uniformly burnt and presents a dull brown appearance. The inscription is in clear Brāhma characters of the second or third century A. D. The space between the linear bands above and below the inscription has a mean width of about 8/10ths of an inch, but all the letters except two extend above or below the bands, one of the ligatures extending both ways and measuring nearly 1 $\frac{4}{10}$ ". The inscription is just about 6" long and thus occupies much less than half the circumference of the pot. The letters are quite clear and must have been engraved when the pot was still wet, before its being fired.

The inscription: The style of writing adopted in this short inscription reminds us forcibly of the remarks of Buhler on the script of the inscriptions from Jaggayyapetia, and may now be compared with the inscriptions from Nāgārjuni-konḍa.¹ The sign that looks like a *risarga* and yet differs from it so much by the insertion of a curve between the two dots is, I think meant for a stop. It occurs at the end of each of the two words comprising the inscription.² I read the inscription directly from the pot and from mechanical reproductions of it as follows:—

a ya ma ni / pru sti kā /

In *ā* the length is indicated by a slight stroke on the right side of the vertical of the letter; I do not think that the dot below the left short vertical has any significance. The letter *na*

1. Ind. Pal. Set. 20 C; EI. XX, p. II, XXI, pp. 61 ff.

2. The curve alone is used as a stop in Nāgārjuni-konḍa G II

I. 1. EI. xxi plate opp. p. 62.

(in *pi*), it may be noted, is intermediate in form between the two forms of *pa* illustrated by Buhler in his tables (III 1. 20) from Junnar and Jaggayyapetta; the letter sometimes shows a loop in the Nāgārjuni-konda inscriptions.¹

A dot over the left vertical arm of *p̄n* falls on the lower one of the two lines above the inscription. I neglect this dot like the one under *d* noticed before. I may add that three or four similar dots are found on the uninscribed surface of the pot, a fact which supports the surmise that these dots do not form part of the inscription. The ligature *si* is of rare occurrence; but there seems to be no room for doubt about its reading. Note that the *i* sign starts on the left vertical of *sta*.

To take up the word *prastikā* first. The word in this form is uncommon and I am not aware of any other instance of its use in literature or epigraphy. But I think it may be safely connected with *prasta*, a word known to Amarasinha (*prasta-piṇḍoṭīdagdhe*. III. i. 99) in the sense of 'burnt'. An analogous formation to *prastikā* is furnished by the word *vartikā* derived in the *Uddi-sūtras* from *vrt* with the addition of the termination *tikā*.² *Prastikā* would, if what has been said so far is correct, mean literally anything that is burnt. Though it may thus conceivably mean a pot, I think it is meant to apply to the contents of the pot, the relics of some person preserved in it.

If this interpretation of the second word is correct, the first should naturally give the name of the person whose relics were thus preserved. The name as we read it is Āyamāṇi. Considering the provenance of the pot, one is tempted to say that this word, Āyamāṇi, shows the pot to be the reliquary of no less a person than the celebrated Buddhist divine Āryadeva. It is of

1. *EI*. XX plate facing p. 16. C 3, l. 4 *hireṇa*; also A.S.W.I. V Pl. 5. Kanheri No. 2 1.2, and several examples in No. 15. See also Burgess—Amaravati and Jaggayyapettah Pl. Lx. ii. No. 2. 1.2.

Pandit Prabhakara Sastri is, however, inclined to read this letter as *si*. He thinks that the correct reading of this and the preceding letter is *muni*. The *u* in *mu* is by no means distinct, but there seems to be a slight extension towards the right of the cross stroke of *ma* faintly visible to the naked eye on the pot and seen also in one of the photographs, though many carefully prepared impressions did not get it in. He also suggests that if it is not *muni*, it may be *mati*.

2. *Uddi-sūtras*—ed., Dr. T. R. Chintamani, Part ii. Sūtra 419.

some interest to note, in this connection, that, to this day in the Krishna and Guntur districts, there are said to be found families with the significant names Ayyadevara, which, together with other family names like Thera and Buddharāja, indicates that these families, now Hindu, might be the representatives of the ancient Buddhist houses of the Andhra country.

The family name Ayyadevara is of special significance, for it is just another form of Āryadeva. Another fact, perhaps worth noting, is the testimony of the Nāgārjuni-konda inscriptions¹ to the constant intercourse between the Andhra country and Ceylon in the second and third centuries A. D., and Ceylon is said to have been the original home of Āryadeva.

We should not omit to note some difficulties in the way of treating the pot as the reliquary of Āryadeva's remains. The name in our inscription is Āryamāṇi; the Buddhist divine is generally known as Āryadeva, and the Chinese sources call him Deva Pusa; this means really that the name by which the Chinese called him was Deva, because Pusa is a common term they applied to all patriarchs.² On the other hand all the terms *Ārya*, *Deva*, and *Mati* are honorifics, and it is possible that the same person might have been meant by different combinations of these terms. Another point is that the containers of relics are more often of stone, crystal or steatite, often a number of vases and caskets one within another, the whole being deposited safely beneath a stūpa. The use of earthenware pots is however, not altogether unknown; one earthen bowl and three inscribed jars containing relics have been reported from Bhojpur;³ and inscribed bricks containing Buddhist sūtras have also been found.⁴ Then the language of our inscription seems to be more Sanskritised than is usual in such inscriptions in the mixed dialect; the form *āya* for *ārya* is known in some other instances, like Āya Karkulasta⁵ and Āya Bhadukiya;⁶ but *prastīḍī* is a good Sanskrit word as we have seen. With Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, however, begins the full tide of Mahāyāna, when Sanskrit came into use. Lastly, the inscriptions on the relic caskets more

1. *EJ*. xx, p. 23.

2. Edkins - *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 77; Watters-Yuan Chwang.

3. Luders - List of Brāhmaṇi inscriptions. 676-78 and 680.

4. JASB. 1896, p. 101; *EJ* xxi, pp. 193 ff.

5. Luders 58.

6. *Ibid.* 367.

The inscription.



The pot with the inscription chalked.



By the kind courtesy of the Editor of
the *Bharati*, Madras.

Two views of the inscribed pot.

I



II



By the kind courtesy of the Editor of
the Bâhrati, Madras.

J. O. R. M.

often give only the name in the genitive case of the person whose relics are preserved without employing any word signifying relics—as the word *prastīd* does in this case; but here again instances of the mention of relics are not unknown and the words *śarira* and *dhātu* are found employed in some inscriptions from relic caskets.¹

Āryadeva is well-known as the pupil of Nāgārjuna and the author of many works. He was a native, most probably of Ceylon,² but seems to have spent much of his life in the mainland of India. Yuan Chwang mentions his connection with several places in India, but there is nothing so far known, except Āryadeva being the disciple of Nāgārjuna, that brings him into any very close relation with the Andhra country. In view of this and in view of the difficulties already noticed, it may be doubted if our pot can yet be accepted as the reliquary of Āryadeva's remains.³ But the suggestion seemed worth making in view of the other evidence cited above. This evidence is late and inconclusive; it must be left to future research to confirm or disprove the suggestion put forward here tentatively.

1. Swat Relic Vase Inscription, Jalalabad Vase Inscription and another inscription dated 146 A.D. on a box lid—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, ii p. 4, 52, and 152. *EI*, ii pp. 326, 328 (Bhattiprolu); ASSI I. p. 86, No. 47 (Amarāvati). Of all these, only the inscription of 146 A.D. furnishes a close analogy to our record, being the interment of the relics of a Śramaṇa. The rest relate to the relics of the Buddha.

2. Or South India. Watters, i, 321; Beal, v, 190, n. 76.

3. For Āryadeva see Watters - Yuan-Chwang index, s. v. Deva, and corresponding passages in Beal - Buddhist Records, in particular, i, 189, n. 76. A short metrical work on Mahāyāna ethics by Āryadeva was recovered and published by H. P. Sastri, in 1898- J.A.S.B. ii, pp. 175-84. Āryadeva's *Catukṣaṇikā* ed. also by H. P. Sastri. Memoirs ASB, iii (8) pp. 449-514. Again by Vidhusēkhara Bhāṭṭācārya, Part II only—Viśvabhāratī Series No. 2 (1931). The *Sātaśāstra*, a short treatise of Āryadeva on logic, has been recovered and published by Tucci in his *Pre-Dīghanīga Buddhist Texts on Logic*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series Vol. 49. See also I.H.Q. 1933, pp. 978-9 for a discussion on Āryadeva's birth-place. Kuangpai-lun in Watters, xx, i, 362.

REALISM IN INDIAN ART

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, B.A., (HONS.),

Madras

The cry of 'go back from nature' has now pervaded Indian atmosphere and created an Indian Art quite unconscious and ignorant of and hence totally dissociated from nature. The say that nature is no good and that the ideal artist should rise above her is a tacit though honourable way of admitting the inimitability of God's creation. The human hand, however much aided by instruments, falls short of portraying the sublime spirit of God in nature. But that does not and should not in any way discourage an artist from depicting nature as true as his ability could allow him to do it. It is only the degree of perfection that makes the artist felt as great or small. Whatever people might feel regarding the opinions of Ruskin on art—and we are not concerned with the opinions—it cannot be gainsaid he was a remarkably great aesthete, and it is interesting to note how very plain he is on the point (Art). In his Pre-Raphaelitism he asks us to 'suppose that every tree of the forest had been drawn in its noblest aspect, every beast in the field in its savage life—that all these gatherings were already in our national galleries, and that the painters of the present day were labouring, happily and earnestly, to multiply them, and put such means of knowledge more and more within reach of the common people', and questions us whether 'that would not be a more honourable life for them, than gaining precarious bread by "bright effects".' He says that the painters do not think it to be so and adds that 'they think it easy, and therefore contemptible to be truthful.' Proceeding he deplores that 'the excuse is, however, one of lips only; for every painter knows that when he draws back from the attempt to render Nature as she is, it is oftener in cowardice than disdain.'

That this truth which Ruskin has been telling us is confined to England is as absurd a notion as that of Art belonging to any particular nation or country. As the instinct of man is artistic in some degree or other all the world over and as fine art was no monopoly of any country or clime, so also the supposition of

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Ruskin that 'the faculties which, when a man finds in himself, he resolves to be a painter, are intensesse of observation and facility of imagination; that man is created an observer and an imitator; and his function is to convey knowledge to his fellow-men, of such things as cannot be taught otherwise than ocularly' holds good as truly in other parts of the world as in England. But this supposition is merely an ideal which many artists of to-day glory more in violating than in following. Criticizing art instructions of his day Ruskin says 'we begin, in all probability, by telling the youth of fifteen or sixteen, that Nature is full of faults, and that he is to improve her; but that Raphael is perfection, and that the more he copies Raphael the better; that after much copying of Raphael, he is to try what he can do himself in a Raphaelesque, but yet original manner: that is to say, he is to try to do something very clever all out of his own head, but yet this clever something is to be properly subjected to Raphaelesque rules, is to have a principal light occupying one-seventh of its space, and a principal shadow occupying one-third of the same; that no two people's heads in the picture are to be turned the same way, and that all the personages represented are to possess ideal beauty of the highest order, which ideal beauty consists partly in a Greek outline of nose, partly in proportions expressible in decimal fractions between the lips and chin; but partly also in that degree of improvement which the youth of sixteen is to bestow upon God's work in general. This I say is the kind of teaching which through various channels, Royal academy lecturings, press criticisms, public enthusiasm, and not least by solid weight of gold, we give to our young men. And we wonder we have no painters.'

The criticism of Ruskin is as true of Indian Art to-day as it was in England in his time. The notion that Indian Art means depicting of men and women with fractured bones and contorted bodies emaciated by perhaps an anaemia of long duration, of trees with their branches bereft of leaves or if depicted with leaves at all, with only so many as could be easily counted (which simplified method is perhaps one way of rising above nature and God), of animals in all fantastic forms imaginable, the merit of the artist lying in his ignorance or inability to depict the real form of the object, has so completely taken possession of our modern artists' brains that no magician or conjurer can rid them of it with his most herculean of efforts, much less ordinary souls like us.

Now, to go to the real state of affairs in the realm of art in India, we have but to visit the various famous places of our land that contain art-treasures of our past, and a sight of these would very well suffice to dispel the illusion that has taken so deep a root in the minds of people. During my recent visit to Mahabalipuram—the seaport of the Pallava monarchs of Kāñcī renowned for its 'Seven Pagodas'—I made a few sketches being struck by the very natural and realistic treatment of life, all on stone. The sage just near the small shrine carved in the famous 'Arjuna's Penance' is one that not merely attracts attention but arrests it. The sculptor who carved so exquisite a figure in the round and who shows such a high mastery of human form can have nothing in common with that class of our modern artists who take a delight in flouting all notions of elementary fundamentals of artistic thought, convention and anatomy in their frenzy to rise above, and better, nature. It would be a good beginning to study the picture (fig. 1) in detail. The rather emaciated body



Fig. 1.

of the sage exhibits the ribs partly.¹ The bend of the body is graceful and the anatomical structure of the body is exquisite.



Fig. 2.

the great group of 'Arjuna's Penance' little need be said since even a word spoken on the point would be a repetition perhaps for the hundredth time. The tortoise of the same group appears to crawl about, so realistic is it. Plastic art has nothing better to give than the exquisitely natural elephants in the Gajalakshmi group

Similarly with regard to the carving of the pair of deer beneath the sage. The attitude of one of the deer reminds us of the line of Kālidāsa wherein the animal is described as in the act of scratching the body. Unfortunately the head of the sage lower down is missing but the sitting posture that is just the one of Yogadaksinamurti is striking. It is all natural and spontaneous work—nothing of the fantastic and ludicrous about it. In the carving of the disciple carrying water for the daily ablutions of the sage (fig. 2) we find a similar meticulous observance of nature's law in anatomy, pose etc. We have next the beautiful carving of the monkey group (fig. 3) where one of these mischievous creatures is engaged in removing dandruff from the head of another sitting with a young one in its lap. Nothing can be more natural than this wonder piece of stone work that seems to breathe and move. Of the beauty of the elephants in



Fig. 3.

1. This marvellous piece of work reminded me at once of the special dictums of the Visnudharmottara for the proper representation of various objects. The emaciated body of the sage in stone brought home to my mind the force of the verse

(Fig. 4) in the Varāha cave. The treatment of the boar's head

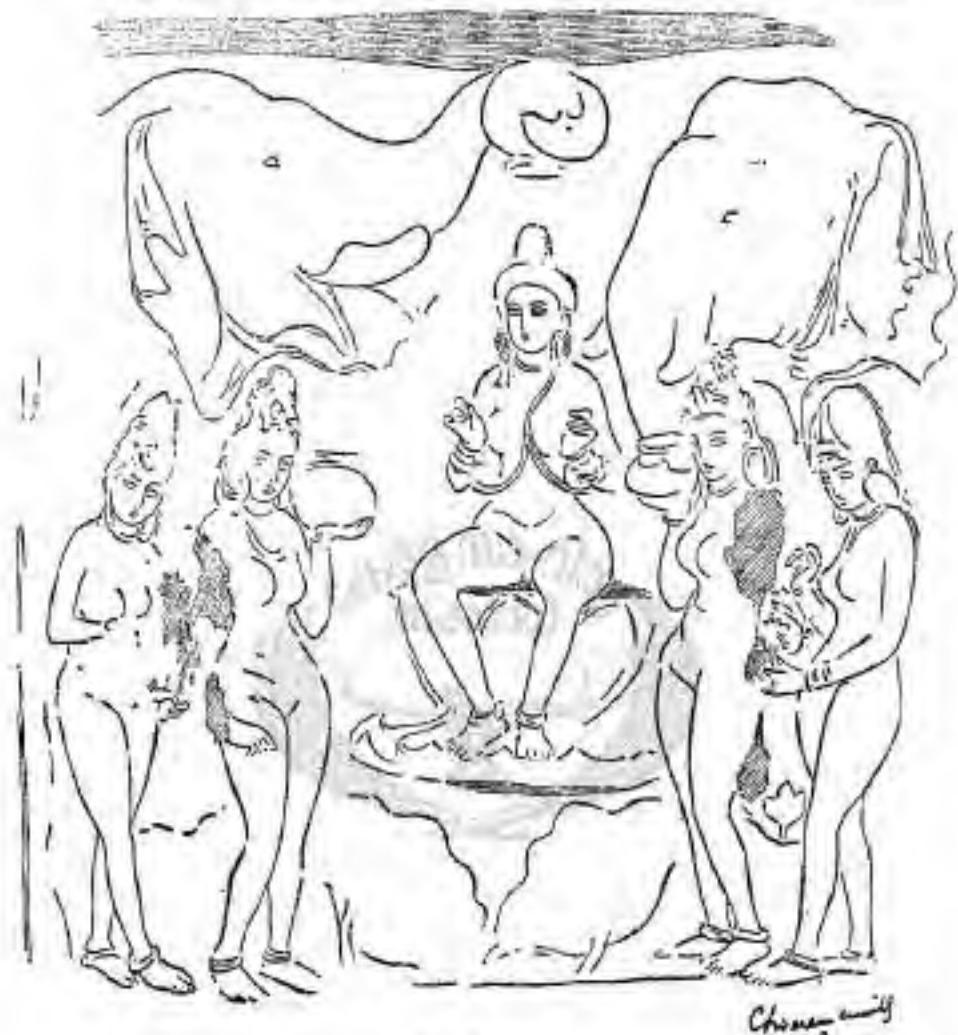


Fig. 4.

नगमस्तत्र कर्तव्या जटाभूषोभिताः ।

कुण्डाजिनोचरासङ्गा दुर्बलास्तेजसा मुताः ॥

The beautiful figures of the Nāgas carved in the group is reminiscent of the lines देवाकाशं कर्तव्या नाशः कणवियाजिताः. The Gandharvas represented as flying all around and hovering above in the company of their lovely wives remind us of the line सपकीकाश ते कार्य मालवालङ्गारधारिणः. Similarly the beauty of the female companions of these demigods carved in stone is a commentary on the verse

दैवदानवयशाणां राक्षसानां तथैव च ।

रूपवत्वस्तथा कार्य पल्ल्वो मनुजचत्तम् ॥

in the Varāhamūrti panel (fig. 5) is equally praiseworthy.



Chittor

Fig. 5.

Of the group of rats and the cat doing penance (fig. 6) which



Chittor

Fig. 6.

latter Mrs. Fyson identifies as Dadhikarna, (it is not included in my sketch), little need be said; it reminds one of the śloka in the Śiśupālavandha¹ where even the live cat is taken for a statue—so marvellous is the work of the sculptors. The group here is as realistic,

It can be safely asserted that there was never a time in India with evidence lacking to prove Realism as the ideal of the sculptor or the painter. The figurines of the pārāvatas (doves) are so lifelike that the cat approaches them stealthily and the motionless figure of the animal makes the people in the street mistake it for a carving like those of the birds. Again we have another example of this type of highly realistic representation in the Raghuvanśa² where the lions spring fiercely to kill the mighty elephants painted on the walls of the bathing houses on the banks of Sarayū only to discover that they are mere lifeless drawings and nothing more. The pathetic verse in the Kāvya-prakāśa³ where the parrot is described as complaining to the pictures of the king and the others of the indifference shown to it by the princess and so on is but another example of this extraordinary realistic treatment in painting and sculpture that makes even beasts and birds mistake them for live ones.

In the Kundamāla of Dīgnāgācārya we have the statement that there can be no Bimba without a Pratibimba.⁴ Even the reflection of Sītā in the water is spoken of as Pratikṛti which

1. चिकित्या कृत्रिमपात्रिपद्मः कपोतपालीषु निकेतनानाम् ।

मार्द्वरमप्यायतनिश्चलाङ्गं यस्यां जनः कृत्रिमसेव मेने ॥ S. V. III, 51.

N. B.—Unless there was a realistic treatment of subjects there could be no mistaking of a live cat for a carving however motionless it might be.

2. चित्रद्विषः पश्चवनावतीणः करेणुभिर्द्वच्छृणालमङ्गः ।

नखाङ्गुशाधातविभिन्नकुम्भाः संरब्धसिद्धप्रदृतं वहन्ति ॥

Raghu. XVI. 16.

3. राजन् राजमुता न पाठयति मां देव्योऽपि तृणीं दित्याः

कुञ्जे भौजय मां कुमारसच्चैवनांशापि संभृजयते ।

इत्थं नाश शुक्लतवारिमवने सुकोऽप्यवैः पञ्चरा-

थिष्ठस्यानवलोक्य शूल्यवलभावेकैकमाभापते ॥ K. P. X. Ullasa.

4. तदस्याः प्रतिकृतेमूलमन्वेषयामि । निःसंपातविविल्लभिर्दं दीर्घिकाहीरम्,

विनेन च विना प्रतिबिष्टभिर्लंसभाव्यमेतत् । Act IV.

term is strictly applied to a picture; but the reason is not far to seek. Every picture and especially a Viddha Citra (*i.e.*, a portrait) should be like the reflection in a mirror as the Sīhavirāvalīcarita puts it.¹ The sloka of the Navasāhasrāṅkaracarita

नृपत्य चित्रे मधुरेयमाकृतिर्न भिषते चन्द्रमसो वयाम्बसि ।

सखीजनत्तमिति नर्मदेशः शानैलपानम्भ्रमुखीमभाषत ॥ VII

which talks of the picture resembling the original exactly like the reflection of the moon in the water the original in the sky gives out precisely the same idea.

It is evident from the Raghuvansha,² the Tilakamāñjari³ and other works in Sanskrit that it was customary in ancient India for the pictures of princes and princesses to be sent all round the land to the courts of various kings, for fixing up marriages according to the dictum of 'परस्परत्य स्युहणीषशोर्म इन्द्रम्'. This method of choosing a princess by seeing her picture would be an impossibility if there were no resemblance between the drawing and the original. We have subtle differentiation in the Silpa

1. ते विष्णकर्मणो मूर्खन्दरालीवातिकाशलाग् ।

तमालिञ्जन् वधावस्थमादर्शप्रतिविम्बवत् ॥ I. 134.

Compare the Silpa text

सुहृष्टमं लिष्यते यत्तु दर्पणे प्रतिविम्बवत् ।

तद्विनं विद्वमित्याहुर्धिशकर्मादयो त्रुधाः ॥

Abhilashitarthacintamani,

cf. धवलाभकच्छुरितभित्तिलिजितलिङ्गाङ्गनालिपिम् ।

अप्सु कृष्णलयदयां प्रतिमाः सिरदर्पणनिभादु लेमिरे ॥

Navasāhasrāṅkaracarita, XV. 7

2. प्रतिकृतिरचनाभ्यो दूतेसंदर्शिताभ्यः

समधिकतररूपाः शुद्धसन्तानकामैः ।

अधिविविदुरमत्तैराहृतास्तत्य यूनः

प्रथमपरिषट्ठीते श्रीमुखौ राजकन्याः ॥ XVIII. 53.

3. कदाचिदङ्गनालोल इति निषुगचित्रकौशित्रपठेष्वारोप्य सादरमुखनी-
कृतानि रूपातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिविम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा-
दिवसमालोकयत् । T. M. p. 15.

अर्तोऽस्याः सकलनिजपरिवाराङ्गनाचित्रकौशिलदर्शनन्यावेन दर्शय निचर्ग-
मुद्राकृतीनामवनिभोचरनरेन्द्रदारकाणां यथास्तमिकृतानि नामभिर्यथावित्यतानि
विद्वरूपाणि । T. M. p. 138.

texts between Viddha and Aviddha pictures.¹ The former represent that class of pictures that exactly resemble the originals being portraits of a high order while the latter represent a class of imaginary drawings not strictly realistic. This latter group of pictures merely give an idea of the thing represented and nothing more. If realistic painting cannot be conceded as having been in existence in old India passages like the one in the Tilaka-

दीपान्तरराजकन्यकाभिरतुदिवसमप्रहर्षमाणचित्रफलकारेपित्रिद्वयः ।

T. M. p. 133.

तत्र च त्वं पुपलभ्माण्या दिल्लमुखरव्यातरूपोपदां राजकन्यानां चिद्रूपाण्या-
दरप्रवर्तिं चित्रकृतिर्भिलिक्षणीतान्यजस्तमवत्तोक्यतः.....मे गताः
कृतिपथेऽपि विवलाः । T. M. p. 263.

cj. कि चैतत् ग्रतिस्तपदर्शनवशादस्मानिमां कहिंचित्

यन्वेतैपि विशेषतस्तदुचितं पुरीपितृणा त्रु नः ।

इत्यालोच्य तवा समं दधितवा भवेत् धीमत्तहं

तत्त्वार्थं ग्रहितास्मि तत्प्रतिकृतिं चैतां भवनीक्षताम् ॥

Vasantavilāsamahākāvya, p. 75.

cj. मर्तुः प्रीहारानेषेदितस्ततः प्रविश्य संसद्रहमाहितानतिः ।

भूमेददत्तचावलः स कर्णश्चोः क्षमस्तुपासारनुवाच वाचिकम् ॥

कि चाग्रतस्तेन निरीश्य भूषते तुमारमाकारविनिर्जितत्तमरम् ।

तदपत्तोमासुभगोऽस्य दर्शितो जगन्मनोऽक्षुण्णमलभ्यः यदः ॥

पीयूषधायश्वद्वज नेत्रयोनिरीक्ष्य कन्दाप्रतिविन्वन्दमूलम् ।

कि तथमित्यं भवितेति विन्तवन् पुरो नपः क्षेत्रकमित्यं व्यलोक्यत् ॥

अस्याः स्वलयं कथमेणचक्षुषो यथानन्दन्यो लिङ्गिर्तु प्रगमनताम् ।

धातापि यस्याः प्रतिरूपनिर्मितौ शुणाक्षरस्यावकृतिर्जडः ॥

Dharmaśarmābhūdaya, IX, 32-35.

A messenger is sent with a portrait of the Vidarbha princess to every court including the court of Kosala.

cj. कवादिभिरुणगणैरतुरुपमस्यात्स्तात्त्विराय विश्वान् वरमत्तमजायाः ।

आलेक्षदक्षमुश्लैः कलकेतु इत्यानालेक्षयत् धितिभुजः प्रथितान्वयायान् ॥

कौतूहलेन कलकेतु भवाहृतेषु क्षोणीभृतो विलिखितान्निपुणं निरुद्य ।

भासीदियं विजगतामभिनन्दनीये बुनापि यूनि विनिषेधितचित्रवृत्तिः ॥

Sahrdayānanda, III, 17-18.

1. साहशयं लिखत्वे यन् दर्पणे प्रतिविमवत् ।

तच्चित्रं विद्वान्त्याहुर्विष्वकर्मादयो त्रुधाः ॥

Abhilasitārthaçintāmanī.

mañjari¹ where an exact drawing of the portrait from memory is attempted can have no meaning. At any rate sketching from life would be absurd if there is no real portrayal of the features in a realistic way. In this connection I am reminded of the two pictures of Nārāyaṇa² in the Samsvatimahāl library in Tanjore that were so exactly similar. The painter who could show such a striking similarity between the two pictures could and ought to have brought out the likeness of the original in flesh and blood whom he painted originally in both his pictures.

We need not go very far to see the truth of the above statement. We have it in the Vasantavilāsamahākāvya³ that the minister weeps at the sight of the statue of his mother. So realistic is it that it moves him to tears. As against all this we have bad pictures with their blemishes hidden by paint described in the Pādatāçitaka.⁴ Sītā is carried away into the forest as it were and forgets herself when seeing the pictures illustrating Rāma's life on the walls of the royal palace at Ayodhyā and takes them all to be realistic and Rāma has to remind her of the fact she is looking at pictures;⁵ and this talks eloquently of the very

1. कवाचिदान्तिकन्यस्तविविधविकासमुद्रका प्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः
पुरोऽवस्थापि लूपुनि चित्रकलके निषुणमालोच्चालोच्य मकरकेतुवाणजातविद्वा
देवस्यैव रूपविद्वमभिलिखन्वी । p. 319.

2. Nārāyaṇa who belongs to the 18th century is the author of Śabdabhūṣāṇa and Śabdamañjari and two portraits of his in miniature are painted on the first pages of the MSS of the two works preserved in the Tanjore library. They possess a remarkable and striking resemblance.

3. तदा सूजधारेष्वैकेन दाम्बो कुमारदेव्या मातुर्मूर्तिर्भवत्काय नवीनविट्ठा
दद्वी कृता । उर्कं च तेन मातुर्मूर्तिरियम् । तदा मन्त्रीधरेण आशिखनखं दद्वा मूर्ती
विदितं च । प्रथममधुमात्रम्, तदोऽव्यक्ततरो भवनः, ततो अक्षतरः । सर्वे तदस्थाः
दृच्छान्ति । देव ! किं कारणं दद्यते ? हर्षस्थाने को विषादः ? ततो मन्त्रिणोक्तम्
दुःखमिदं वन्मे भाष्यसुक्ष्माभिपत्यादिविभूतिमातृमरणानन्तरं संपत्ता । etc. p. 97.

The statue is a carving in wood.

4. वर्णानुहोऽव्यक्तचारवेषा लङ्घमीमिवालेख्यपटे निविष्टाम् ।
सापहृष्टां कामितु कामवन्तोऽरुणां विलापयि कामवन्ते ॥ p. 31.

5. लङ्घमणः—एष पञ्चवर्षाणि शूर्पवलाविवादः ।

natural treatment in the paintings that serve as a contrast to the ugly pictures loaded with paint to please the crude taste of the lay public that is easily carried away by colour—राणीव्यमित्रे जनाः.

The extraordinary skill required of an artist to execute pictures in such a clever way is very well given out in the passage in the Avantisundarikathā of Daṇḍin¹—it is a pity that it happens to be moth-eaten and worn out to the utmost limit and therefore fragmentary in its printed form—wherein the sculptor replaces the broken hand of Śeṣāśayivisṇu in Mahābalipuram so dexterously that nothing of it could be seen as having been repaired. That great feat of an artist—painting one's self—in which many an artist of the west has delighted, and of which we have examples like the paintings of Rembrandt, of Wilson, of Sir Joshua and a host of others, all by themselves, appears to have been a favourite pastime with the painter even in India as we see in the Padyacūḍāmaṇī² and elsewhere. In the Avadānakalpalatā

सीता—हा ! आर्पुत्र | प्रतावते दशंनग् ।

रामः—अथि ! वियोगवस्ते । चित्रमेतत् ।

सीता—यथा तथा भवतु । तुम्हेऽसुखमुत्पादयति ।

रामः—हन्त ! वर्तमान इव मे जनस्थानकृताग्नः प्रतिभाति ।

Uttarakāmacarita, Act I.

In the last line Rāma also feels the realism of the pictures.

1.या विस्मापितदुर्जयस्य मान्धारुनाङ्गः लक्षणैः प्रशस्तवास्तुचाच्छा-
र्खलारसा.....स्तुविस्तारपण्यचत्प्राप्ताद्यविचित्रिशारदो यानाखुनशायनादिना.....
तीवप्रयोजा पट्टिशादाचार्यसुरैरलंकृतो लक्षितालयनामा स...विरचित...राह्रद्विनि-
दिधाया भूमाकृष्णविद्यत् । ईडैऽपि तस्मिन् विस्मय...मेष किल यत्तमयमिन्द्रजालिकं
कृतवानेव किल स...पित्रा यथनानव्यतिशयानेन क्षुधितोऽवयमिति यन्मी.....
मवलिता एव सर्वे निल्पप्रमादशैषिण्यवा शिल्प...दिवैतस्मैपुणमपि तदनुग्रहार्थमेव...
(शार्ङ्ग)धन्वनः केनापि कारजेन नामिषवन्ये भवेषो...अनुरूपम...वेति द्रष्टुमर्थम्
etc., p. 8.

2. आलेखयलीलाफलकं सदृशिमेकं दधाना करपङ्कवेन ।

आत्मानमालिलव बराय तस्मै दाद्वे समुद्दोगवतीय तस्यौ ॥ IV. 72.

cf. पुनरहमभिलिक्षयास्मनः प्रतिकृतिम् “इवमनुष्टै नेत्रा । नीतां चैनां
निर्व्याप्ते सा नियतमेव तद्वयति—‘नन्वास्ति कश्चिदीहशाकारः पुमान् ?’ इति ।
प्रतिकृष्णेनाम्—‘यदि स्पाततः किम् ?’ इति । लस्य यदुचरं सा दास्यति तदहमहिम
प्रतिबोधनीयः ?’ इति ।

Dasakumāracarita, p. 107, N. S. edn.

of Kṣemendra even Buddha is reported to have done his own portrait.¹

A painting like the one described in the śloka of the Br̥hatkathāmañjari

इत्युक्त तैर्लिङ्गेभाष्यं तापसी मूर्मिपासमजम् ।
अविसंवादिलावण्यं संकान्तमिव दर्शणे ॥
ते दृष्ट्वा लिखितं चित्रे तुल्यं राजमुतं तथा ।
सामु ताप्तिव्यमापन्त प्रहृष्टोत्कुल्लोचनाः ॥ IX. 1305-1306.

cannot but go recognised;² and we have instances of people recognising portraits by a mere look as in the Raināvalī³, the Śringāra-

1. ततोऽपि चकराशक्यां प्रभावैरुपूरिताम् ।
मगवान् प्राहिणोत् तस्यै स्पृतां स्वप्रतिमां पठे ॥

A. K. L., Vol. I, Pallava VII. 62.

2. Recognition of the original by a look at the figure is found in the verse—

तेनादृष्टः स वेतालः केयमित्यतिकौद्धकात् ।
उवाच शिरिपना देव रुदेषं शालमञ्जिका ॥
कलिङ्गयनवनवामालोक्य सदशाकृतिम् ।
सेयं कलिङ्गसेनास्या रूपकारेण निर्मिता ॥

Br̥hatkathāmañjari, X. 202-3.

3. सुसंगता—इदं सबु कदलीश्वरम् । तद्यावद्यनिशामि । (प्रविश्यावलोक्य च सवित्तमम्) एषा मे त्रियस्ती सागरिका । किं पुनरेषा गुर्वनुरागोऽस्मिताहृदयेव किमप्यालिखन्ती न मां प्रेषते । भवतु । तद्यावदस्या इष्टिष्यं परिदृश्य निरूपयामि । (सैरं पृष्ठोऽस्याः स्थित्वा इष्ट्या सहर्षम्) कर्यं मत्तामिलिखितः । सामु । सागरिके । साधु । अथवा, न कमलाकरं वर्जयित्वा राजहंस्यम्यसिमद्वभिरमते ।

Act II.

Cf. Later Sāgarikā recognises her own portrait drawn by Susaṅgatā on the same picture board.

सागरिका—(विलोक्य सकोषम्) सखि ! कर्यं त्वजाहमप्रालिखिता ।

Cf. Later even the fool of a Vidūṣaka recognises the picture as that of his friend the King.

विदूषकः—मे ! वयस्य । दिष्ट्या लर्षते । एतत्तदनमया भणितम् । त्वमेवात्रालिखितः । अम्यथा कोऽन्यः कुसुमचापव्यपदेशेन निहृषत दृति ।

bilaka¹ and the Viddhaśālabhañjikā.² The pictures should have been very striking for the fool of a Vidūṣaka in the Viddha-

1. सया कोऽयं मुखे कथय लिखितः सत्वरसलीः-

बचः शुभेत्युद्दैर्यनिहितदशा चित्रफलके ।

न चक्षुं तन्वज्ञाया शक्तिमय चोद्यमविदल-

रकदमनाकारेण प्रिय हृति समाख्याधि वपुषा ॥ p. 142.

2. विदूषकः—इत्तत्त्वाभित्तितदहाठिकगम्भेदवनभित्तिचित्रसंस्थेषु कर्मसु निवेशतां दृष्टिः । एव वावेद्वो देव्या समं पाद्यकामिनिश्ची आलिखितः । एवापि ताम्बूलकरणदवाहिनी नागनक्षी । एव चामरणाहिणी प्रमाङ्गनिका । एव रक्षकरणको नाम वामनकः । एव पुनर्मन्तुरामर्कदः दण्डकणो नाम ।

राजा—त्वं नेत्रोऽभिलिखितः ।

विदूषकः—(सर्वेषम्) नाहं लिखितुं शावो ब्राह्मणी जानाति वादशोऽहं का मां भणति त्वं प्रलक्षो देव हृति ।

राजा—किमुपवने शुको वदति ।

विदूषकः—किमिव ।

राजा—आस्ति भवान् देवः किं पुनर्मीक्षिरिटः ।

विदूषकः—को दुर्जनवचनानां कर्णं ददाति (अहूरुह्या निर्दिशन्) एव पुनः दोभासमुदयेनोपहसुन्तीव कायपूर्वी आलिखिता ।

राजा—इयम्पूर्वैवत्माकं न पुनरनज्ञस्य । (सम्भवितोऽप्य) सैवेष-मस्मन्मनःसामरशाश्वेषा । अहो रूपसंपदस्याः ।

चक्षुमेंचकमम्बुजं विजयते यज्ञस्य मित्रं शशी

भूतुत्रस्य सनामि मन्मथप्रत्युर्लवच्यपत्ये वपुः ।

लेहा नापि रद्धुद्दै च सुतनोर्गत्रे च तत्कामिनी-

मेनां चर्णपिता तमसो नदि मवेद्वैद्यमध्यमस्यस्तति ॥

विदूषकः—(स्वत्तत्त्वम्) का पुनरेषा देवीपरिवरे । (विचिन्त्य).भवतु, कीतृहृकेन देवी अभिनवागतं निवामातुलज्जातकं मूर्गाङ्गुवर्णं वारं वारं विरचित-महिलावेषं कारयति । तां च इष्टा अशातपरमार्थैश्चित्रकरैः सैव चित्रे आलिखितेति तकंयामि तत्र विस्तोषयिष्ये । विस्मयतु ताक्षत् प्रियवस्यस्यः । (प्रकाशम्) वचोपयिष्ये भी कुमारिका खड्ढ एवा एतस्या नेपथ्यं लक्षयते ।

राजा—यथाह प्रियवस्यस्यः ।

* * * * *

विदूषकः—इतोऽपि देवी मदनवती अशोषपरिकारा चालिखिता ।

राजा—इवतेष रूपरङ्गं समावयामस्तावत् ।

विद्वासीजिका to recognise so easily all of them painted in the palace.

The Mṛcchakatika says that imitation is the general rule with craftsmen;¹ but it can be safely said, judging from the frescoes and sculptures of the best period of Indian art that we have all over India, that mere imitation of another's work was not attempted by good workmen, though the less skilful ones might have resorted to such means. The land where अनुभितार्थप्रतिष्ठिति is an ideal can never have an exceptional dictum in the realm of painting. If there was imitation in the case of skilled workmen it was an imitation of nature which well accounts for the passages that talk of light and shade² and the like—matters of technique all evolved and got at in attempts at trying to represent nature as faithfully as possible. So our painters of old could not have been grand-children³ of nature but her sturdy children; and to justify our conviction we have the exquisite carving at Mahabalipuram of a highly fascinating and charmingly realistic milking group whose very striking natural beauty and skill in execution compelled me to take a note of it on my

विदूषकः—इहापि सास्येव ।

राजा—(आस्मगतम्) एकं चक्षुरनेकम् सा (विदूषकं प्रति) काढो !

विदूषकः—इयमिच्छम् ।

विदूषकः—(स्तम्भे शालमणिकां विलोक्य) इयमपि सैव ।

Viddhaśālabhañjikā, Act I.

1. इष्टा क्रियामनुकरोति हि शिल्पवर्गः

साहस्रमेव कुतहस्ततया बद्धन्ति ॥

Act X. 34.

2. राजनीतिरेव यथोचितमस्थापितवर्णसुदाया दिनकरप्रभेव प्रकाशित-
व्यक्तनिष्ठालउविभागा.....चक्कर्तिकन्यका । Tilakamañjari, p. 135.

The use of the words *disokaraprabheva* and *vyakta* is significant. It is not abstract light but real sunlight giving sharp relief to the features and forming cast shadows that is referred to.

3. Archdeacon Fisher, in one of his letters that has not been printed, says, "I have just met with the following observation in Leonardo da Vinci, 'One painter ought never to imitate the manner of any other, because in that case he cannot be the child of nature, but the grand-child.'"—Constable sometimes called imitators "Poachers on other men's grounds," Life of Constable, p. 286.

picture-pad. This representation (fig. 7) which reminds me of



Fig. 7.

the powerful word-picture of Mayūra of the calf at milktyme in the verse

आदृत्यादृत्य गूर्जा द्रुतमनुपिवतः प्रस्तुतं मातुरुषः
किंचित् कुञ्चिकनानोरनवरतचलचारुपुच्छस्य षेनुः ।
उत्तीर्ण तर्णकस्य प्रियतनयतया दत्तुंकारमुश्च
विश्वसिक्षीरथरालवशब्दमुखस्याङ्गमातुसि लेहि ॥

1. The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, edited by G. P. Quackenbos, Indo-Iranian series, p. 235.

is really worthy of the most realistic school of painters and sculptors. The carving of the old cowherd (fig. 8) in the company of what appears like his daughter and grand-children, is again a fascinating study. Any master may be proud of the baby boy on the shoulder of the old man, snugly seated and dreaming sweet childish dreams of innocence.

Light and shade or rather chiaroscuro as it is technically called in the artists' world is a factor to which considerable attention has been paid by our ancients. This is an outcome of the desire to faithfully represent the volume or the third dimension on a plane surface like the board or the canvas. This was done either with a single colour, i.e., monochrome or with different colours as we have it given in the *Abhilashitarthacintāmaṇi* and *Sivalattvaratnākara*.¹ The oldest authority on this point is the *Mahābhārata* where the possibility of highly realistic representation by means of light and shade in pictures is referred to in the verse quoted by Kṣemendra in his *Kavikāṇṭhābharana* to show Vyāsa's knowledge of various arts including painting.

प्रकीर्णे चित्रपरिष्वयो यथा भगवतो व्यासस्य—

'अतध्यान्यपि तत्पानि दर्शयन्ति चिच्छणाः ।
सुमे निक्षेपतानीव चित्रकर्मविदो जनाः ॥'



Fig. 8.

1. पूर्येदूर्णतः पश्चात्तत्त्वोचितं यथा ।

उच्चवलं ग्रोचते स्थाने इथामलं निष्ठादेशतः ।

एकवर्णेऽपि तं कुर्यात्तत्त्वापिशेषतः ॥ A. A. C. and S. T. R.

Following it Hemacandra repeats the quotation in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*. Dhanapāla has a passage in the *Tilakamañjari*¹ where he talks of light and shade in colours bringing out the effect of relieveo. The use of the word *Dinakaraprabheva prakāśitavyaktaninnonnatalavibhāgā* is significant especially when it shows us that the painters of old India had observed the play of light on forms and the effect of light and shadows thereby. There are other passages from Sanskrit literature talking of the directions and forms of shadows, etc. that bear testimony to the very keen and accurate study of nature in ancient India; and with all this mass of evidence for it it cannot be so easily said that chiaroscuro was a sealed book to our forefathers. A look at the frescoes of India from any quarter, Ajanta, Bagh, Sittagnavaśa or Tanjore would reveal how well the principles of perspective and foreshortening were mastered. The talk of Kṣayavṛddhi in the *Śilpa* texts is actually shown in practice on the walls in these places.

From the foregoing pages it is evident what was the ideal of our ancients in the pictorial world. Their attempt was at realistic treatment. Of course there are conventions in all spheres and certain conventions there are in painting too. Representation of the three worlds being the aim of the artists of our land, and the forms of the divine ones, etc. being beyond the reach of our mortal eye, canons and descriptions regarding their form, etc. laid down by seers had to be strictly followed. The mockery of an independent spirit in such a holy sphere as this was dispensed with. But individual genius could make the picture or image felt by its striking nature and individuality in no way opposing the conventions within whose limits it had been worked. But in representing the world around them the artists were absolutely free and their treatment was quite realistic. The drawings of elephants, ducks etc. are examples.

In conclusion it is only to be regretted that modern art in India should so recklessly present all sorts of anaemic and asthmatic patients if not consumptive ones, not in poses like abhaṅga or atibhaṅga, tribhaṅga, etc. but aṣṭāvakrabhāṅgas—all in the complacent belief that this is equal to or directly connected with the noble pictures of the past. In this case nothing better can be done than drawing the attention of the producers of this sort of modern art to the few lines of criticism of an eminent artist of

1. *Tilakamañjari*, p. 135.

the west levelled against some of his contemporaries losing themselves in illusory joys of having approached the old masters through rotten productions of theirs in a wretched imitative style. "Those who are old enough to compare the present state of painting, among us, with what it was before the continent was thrown open to our artists, cannot but have misgivings as to the advantage of foreign travel to British students. If, as it may be feared, we are more and more losing sight of nature, it may be less owing to the influence of the National Gallery, than to the example from abroad of, I will not call it imitation but *mimicry* of early art. This is so easy a thing to succeed in, and is so well calculated to impose on ourselves and others a belief that we possess the spirit of the primitive ages of art, that we cannot too carefully guard against its seduction. The purity of heart belonging to childhood is, no doubt, as desirable to the painter as to the Christian, but we do not acquire this by merely imitating the *lisp* of infancy."¹

1. Life of Constable, p. 84.

Note—This note is added by me to remove certain misapprehensions that might arise regarding realism in Indian Art. Realism does not mean photographic fidelity. Similarly idealism cannot be a monstrous torture of realism. Idealism is realism perfect and graceful. A study of Pallava, Cola, Hoysala and other phases of art would instil in one a reverence for such an idealistic realism. The bronzes of South India of the best period are perfectly idealistic with no outrage on realism. Indian figures are gracefully rounded in shape, nerves, projecting bones and muscles being avoided in representation according to certain Indian conventions laid down in *Silpa* texts. And that creates a gulf of difference between Indian and Western (Greek, etc.) art besides other differences too numerous for mention in this short note.

The best specimens of Indian art are not opposed to this sort of idealistic realism. Orissan ivories represented by such excellent specimens as 'Tortoise' and 'Krishna' (Plate LXXXIII Fig. A and B, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon by V. A. Smith) which are described by Sir George Watt as 'a wonderful creation' and 'an exquisite piece of work' respectively, the work of the Silpins, temple architects and carvers of temple cars of South India, and some of the exquisite paintings of modern masters like Dr. A. N. Tagore and Nandalal Bose may be said to represent modern Indian art continuing the traditions of the past. "The Cloud Messenger" and 'Tear-drop on the lotus leaf' of Dr. A. N. Tagore, the

'Svayambhara of Damayanti', 'Gandhari' and 'Agni the Fire-god' by Nandalal Bose, 'Curiosity' of D. P. Roy Chowdhury, 'My lamp goes out every time' of Charuchandra Roy and 'The spider's web' of Samarendranath Gupta, to mention a few, are typically Indian, are at once realistic and decorative, and breathe the fragrance of ancient Indian Art. Realism must well be conceded in these pictures when it is conceded in D. G. Rossetti's and Burne-Jones's pictures of the Pre-Raphaelite School. H. Majumdar has some really charming pictures published in the albums that go in his name; and Indian sculpture is well represented by the works of such eminent men as D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Karmarkar and Mhatre. Some of the excellent pictures of Ravi Varma and Raja Raja Varma form South India's contribution to modern art. But all these are supposed to be western in spirit. For every one good picture we have ten bad pictures in the art field and they have to be carefully weeded out.



FIVE-STAGES OF PRE-VEDIC DETERMINATIVE-COMPOUND-ACCENTUATION AS SURMISED BY THE HISTORIC SURVIVALS OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN SANSKRIT.

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, B.A., (HONS.) DIP. IN GERMAN,
Research Student in Sanskrit,
University of Madras.

(Continued from p. 351, Vol. VIII, Part IV.)

At the next stage¹ (*i.e.* the fourth one) of determinative-compound-accentuation, the accent was further shifted to the initial syllable of the second member as the following sūtras coming under the अधिकारसूत्र—

उत्तरपदादि: (P. VI, 2, 111.) show.

कंसमन्यशूष्णा॑व्यकाण्डे॒ द्विगौ॑ (P. VI, 2, 122.)

dvi-kāṁsah| tri-kāṁsah| dvi-māñthah| tri-māñthah|
dvi-śurpah| dvi-pāyyah| dvi-kāñdah|

तत्पुरुषे॑ शालायो॑ नदुंसके॑ (P. VI, 2, 123.)

brāhmaṇa-śālam|

कथ्या॑ च॑ (P. VI, 2, 124.)

sauśami-kañtham| āhvara-kañtham|

चेलखेटकट्टककाण्डे॑ गर्हीयाम्॑ (P. VI, 2, 126.)

1. The view that the second member is more important of the two in the determinative compounds probably came to be entertained at this stage; hence was the necessity to move the accent to the first syllable of the second member from the last syllable of the first member. Although it is convenient to speak separately of these two stages (third and fourth), yet it should be borne in mind that at one time or another, during transition, the accent should have been wavering between the two syllables. There should have been also at least a subsidiary stage when the composition vowel appeared and bore the accent.

putra-celam| nagara-khetam| dadhi-kaṭukam|
prajā-kāṇḍam|

चौरमुपमानम् (P. VI, 2, 127.)

vastra-ciram| kambala-ciram|

पललस्तूपशाकं मिश्रे (P. VI, 2, 128.)

ghṛta-pālalam| ghṛta-sūpah| ghṛta-śākam|

कूलनूदस्थलकर्णीः संशायाम् (P. VI, 2, 129.)

dākṣi-kūlam| śāḍī-sūdām| dāṇḍāyana-sīhalam|

dākṣi-kurṣah|

(All these are names of villages.)

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् (P. VI, 2, 130.)

brāhmaṇa-rājyam¹

वर्णादयष्ट (P. VI, 2, 131.)

arjuna-vārgyah| vāsudeva-pākṣyah|

पुत्रः पुम्पः (P. VI, 2, 132.)

dāśaki-pūtrah| māhiṣa-pūtrah|

चूर्णीदीन्यप्रागिष्ठच्छविः (P. VI, 2, 134.)

mudga-cūrṇam²

बटू च काण्डादीनि (P. VI, 2, 135.)

darbha-kāṇḍam| darbha-ciram| illa-pālalam| mudga-

sūpah| mūlaka-śākam| nadī-kūlam|

कुण्डं वनम् (P. VI, 2, 136.)

1. But we have *ku-celam* *ku-rājyam* for according to Kātyāyana, the accent taught in VI, 2, 126 to VI, 2, 130 is superseded by the accent of the indeclinable taught in VI, 2, 2, though that rule stands first and these subsequent.

“ चेलरात्यादिस्वरादव्यवत्वः पूर्विप्रतिषेधेन ॥ ”

2. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णीदीन्यप्राग्मुपशात्, the word उपशात् being the old name of पूर्णि given by ancient grammarians.

*darbha-kunḍam*¹

The period when the composition or the thematic vowel in the determinatives of Lithuanian was accented, probably represents an intermediate stage (between the third and fourth stages of pre-Vedic-determinative-compound-accentuation) the determinative compounds passed through in pre-Vedic language.

But when somehow the composition vowel in Lithuanian disappeared (the reason for it we do not know), the original primitive Indo-European logical accent of the determinative compound was restored—(his restoration must have been, in all probability quite accidental). But in Sanskrit, as later on the second member came to be looked upon as the more important of the two, the accent should have been moved further forward to reach the final syllable of the determinative compound; and slight indeed is the transition between the fourth stage and the last one of determinative-compound-accentuation.²

The last stage of determinative-compound-accentuation is recorded by such sūtras of Pāṇini as are governed by the अधिकारसूत्र—

अन्तः (P. VI, 2, 143.)³

1. This stage of determinative-compound-accentuation is very well represented by the following Vedic compounds.

mano-yujah (Rv. I, 14, 6); *vṛitra-hāṇam* (Rv. I, 106, 6);
puru-spṛbam (Rv. IX, 102, 6); *marta-bhōjanam* (Rv. I, 114, 6.);

puru-tāman (Rv. I, 5, 2.)

Sāyaṇa explains the accent of the last compound as follows:—

“तमु न्यानी” इति वातोरस्तमांशितप्यर्थात् पवाच्यति । चित्पादन्तोदाचेऽपि
 कहुतरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं वाखित्वा “परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्” इत्युत्तरपदाद्युवाचत्वम् ।

2. From the slight shift of the fourth stage of determinative-compound-accentuation to a distinct displacement in the fifth stage, the way was not very long. Only at this last stage of determinative-compound-accentuation, must the view of the speakers of the pre-Vedic language that the second member is more important of the two in determinative compounds have taken a very definite shape and formed a strong prepossession.

3. Under one of these sūtras (इत्योक्तेष्टुचार्दयत् P. VI, 2, 160) is read the following चग्गहोऽश्छन्दसि (मण. 169) by which *a-rājā*

I have already pointed out the working of analogy in the sūtra श्वेता. (P. VI, 2, 35.)¹ through which some Dvandva compounds like चक्र-दाश accent the first member.

There are some more sūtras which reveal to us the mysterious working of analogy in this direction.

राजन्यवहुवचनदून्देऽन्वकृष्णिषु (P. VI, 2, 34.)

śvāphalkā-caitrakāḥ | caitrakaḥ-rōdhakāḥ |
śini-vāsudevāḥ |

आचार्योपसर्जनक्षान्तेवासी (P. VI, 2, 36.)

²Pāṇiniya raudhīyāḥ (Both the words in this compound have acute on the middle as formed by य affix)

कार्तकीजपाद्यस्थ (P. VI, 2, 37.)

sāvarpi-māṇḍūkeyau| paila-śyāparṇeyāḥ| vatsa-jarantah|
kapi-śyāparṇeyāḥ| sīrī-kumāram| kunti-surāṣṭrāḥ|
avimatta-kāmabaddhāḥ)?

and *anahat* accent the last syllable in the Vedas only. In the vernacular, they have the accent of नद्, i.e., *udatta* on the first, (cf. भाषणी नदः स्वर एव). It is strange that the logical accent in these compounds is preserved in the later Sanskrit, while in the earlier Vedic language it is lost. The next sūtra ordains the end-acute of certain compounds in which the first member is a negative particle; but this being optional, the alternative accent is that of the indeclinable as taught by P. VI, 2, 2.

(विभाषा त्रृतीयाण्युचित् P. VI, 2, 161.)

a-kartā | a-kartā | anannam | ān-annam |
 a-tikṣnam | a-tikṣnam | a-sucīḥ | ā-sucīḥ

This shows that the logical accent did not completely lose its hold even in these compounds.

1. *Vide "Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds"* J.O.R.M. Volume VIII, Part II, page 144.
 2. Aufrecht, *Accentu compositorum Sanscriticorum*, p. 9.
 3. *dōṣā-vastar* (Rv. I, 1, 7.) probably represents the type of these compounds in the R̥gvedic period, if we adopt Sāyana's explanation of the accent of this compound. Sāyana says here—

The compounds like *ekā-daśa*, which themselves were accented on the analogy with the older determinative compounds of the adjectivally descriptive class, more especially with *Dvigu*s, probably had in their turn further analogical influence over compounds like *śini-vāsudevāḥ* so that the latter too came to retain the accent of the first member.

It ought to be remembered that an ideal Dvandva compound normally accents both the members (in other words, such a compound is a loose one) since both the members are equally important. This principle is recognised in the following sūtra of Pāṇini.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI, 2, 141.)
 īndrā-varuṇau (Rv. I, 35, 1.)
 dyāvā-pṛthivi (Rv. X, 63, 9.)¹

(Compare what Mādhababhaṭṭa says in his *Rgvedānukramāṇi* Part I, i, iii, 9.)

समप्रवालयोऽन्दु उदात् उभयोरपि ।
 आवापुष्यिवी मरुतो द्युष्यामि मित्रावरुणौ ॥

[In this connection, it ought to be remembered that by the expression 'ideal Dvandva compounds', I mean those compounds which, being the commonest and earliest type of the old Dvandvas, are roughly brought under Wackernagel's first two stages of the Dvandva compound formation (*Vide Altindische Grammatik* II, 1 sections 63-68, p. 150-162. See also Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar—Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertums-kunde*. Sections 259-266, p. 155-158.)]

For the sake of convenience I give below some typical examples of the seven stages.

देवाप्रवाल्यो रथिवाची । वस्ता इत्यहृची । द्वन्द्वलमाते कार्त्तकौजनादित्वात्
 आशुदात्तः ।

But Macdonell's interpretation of the compound is different (*Vide* p. 8 Macdonell's, "A Vedic Reader for Students").

1. The compound *īndra-bṛhaspati* (Rv. IV, 49, 5.) has three accents for the second member. *bṛhaspati* of this compound is itself a double-accented one (*see* my paper on "Double-accented compounds" to be published shortly in the Madras University Journal.)

- I. mitrā-varūpā (Rv. I, 2, 9; 3, 56, 7b; 10, 64, 5b.)
 II. mitrā-varūpābhyaṁ (Rv. V, 51, 9, MS. 1, 3, 7.)

(Bartholomae, Indogermanische Forschungen 20, 168
 Anzeiger, regards these Dvandvas as abbreviations by dropping
 the common ending in the first member. This retention of the
 commonest ending of the first member, that of the nom. acc.,
 unaltered in other cases and in derivatives is analogous to the
 usage of jeder-manns for jedes-manns in German.)¹

- III. indrā-puṣṇōḥ (Rv. I, 162, 2.)
 IV. indra-vāyū (Rv. VII, 90, 7b; I, 14, 3; 23, 2; 3; 139, 1.)
 V. aho-rātrāṇī (Rv. X, 190, 2c.)
 VI. ukthā-śastrāṇī (VS. 19, 28.)

This class of compounds is found in abundance in later
 saṃhitās like the Vājasaneyi and the Taittirīya Saṃhitās.

- VII. iṣṭā-pūrtām (AV. VI, 123, 2d.)²
 iṣṭā-pūrtena (Rv. X, 14, 8.)
 kṛtā-kṛtām (AV. XIX, 9, 2.)]

We have so far traced the five stages of determinative-compound-accentuation. Strictly speaking, there should have been another stage also. At one time, the retention, in the compound, of the word-accent of the second member was probably felt as quite sufficient. I believe that the following sūtras of Pāṇini may perhaps warrant such an assumption.

प्रकृत्या मगालम् (P. VI, 2, 137.)

kumbhī-bhagālam| kumbhī-kapālam| kumbhī-nadālam|

गतिकरकोपफदात् कृत् (P. VI, 2, 139.)

pra-kārakah| pra-karaṇam| pra-hārakah| pra-haraṇam|
 idhma-vrāścanah| palāśa-śatanaḥ| śmaśru-kalpanah|
 iṣat-karah| duṣ-karah| su-karah| havya-vāḥnam (Rv. I

1. Cf. Brugmann: Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen
 grammatischen Herausg. von Curtius 9, 264.

2. The older type in which a dual or plural has been turned
 into a singular at the end, only in order to express a collective
 meaning is represented by this compound. See Windisch in Fest-
 gruß an Boehlitzk, p. 115 ff.

12, 2.) *r̥tā-vṛ̥dhabh* (Rv. I, 13, 6.) *dravipo-dā* (Rv. I, 15, 7.) *āinguśam* (Rv. I, 62, 1.)

But this state of affairs seems not to have been allowed to prevail for a long time. This practice appears to have been checked and as the second member came to be looked upon as the more important of the two in determinative compounds, the accent seems to have been compulsorily thrown to the end of the compound.

समातस्य (P. VI, 1, 223.)

It has been already pointed out¹ that some Bahuvrīhi compounds in Sanskrit like *tri-yugam* logically accented the last member. Some more Bahuvrīhis of this type which Pāṇini takes into account, we shall see in the following sūtras,

बहुवीहाविदमेततद्वयः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियगणने (P. VI, 2, 162.)

idam-prathamah| idam-dvitiyah|

etat-prathamah| tat-prathamah|

संस्थायाः स्तनः (P. VI, 2, 163.)

tri-stanā| cañus-stanā|

विमाणा छन्दसि (P. VI, 2, 164.)

dvi-stanā|

संज्ञायाः मित्राविनयोः (P. VI, 2, 165.)

deva-mitrah| brahma-mitrah| vṛkājinah|

kulājinah| krṣṇājinah|

वस्त्राविनोऽन्तरम् (P. VI, 2, 166.)

vastrāntarah|

मुखे स्वाक्षरम् (P. VI, 2, 167.)

bhadra-mukhah|

निष्ठोषमानादन्यतरस्याम् (P. VI, 2, 169.)

*prakṣālita-mukhah| simha-mukhah|*²

जातिकालमुखादिभ्योऽनाच्छादनात् कोऽकृतमित्प्रतिपन्नाः

(P. VI, 2, 170.)

1. *Vide J.O.R.M.*, Vol. VIII, Part II, my article.

2. This rule being optional, when the final is not acute, then rule P. VI, 2, 110 *सिष्ठोषमान्यतरस्याम्* applies which makes the

सारांगा-जग्धाह॑| पालंदु-भक्षिताह॑|
सुखा-जाताह॑| सत्त्वासरा-जाताह॑|¹

वा जाते (P. VI, 2, 171.)
dāniā-jātāh॑|

नव्युम्याम् (P. VI, 2, 172.)

अ-यावाह॑| सु-यावाह॑| अर्याह॑ (from अ-रि) [Rv. II, 12, 4d-];
Sc.] अ-योद्धाह॑ (Rv. I, 32, 6.) सु-शिप्रास (Rv. II, 12, 6c.)²

उपसर्गात् स्थार्णं श्रुतमपर्णं (P. VI, 2, 177.)
pra-prश्ठाह॑| prodarah॑| pra-lalātāh॑|

वने समासे (P. VI, 2, 178.)
pra-vanam॑| nir-vanam॑|

[Compounds like these must have been originally अल्पवीभाव-समासः accenting the first member, as is evidenced by the following sūtra of Pāṇini.

परिप्रस्तुपापावर्ज्यमानाहोरात्राक्यवेत् (P. VI, 2, 33.)

Then they should have passed through the Tatpuruṣa stage before they were finally transmuted into Bahuvrīhiś (see my paper on "Double-accented Compounds" to be published shortly in the Journal of the Madras University.)

अन्तः (P. VI, 2, 179.)

antar-vanah॑|

first member have acute on the final optionally; and when that also does not apply, then by P. VI, 2, 1. (बहुवीही प्रकृत्वा पूर्वपदम्) the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of gati (गतिरनन्तरः P. VI, 2, 49). Thus there are three forms praksālita-mukhāh॑| praksālita-mukhāh॑| praksālita-mukhāh॑| representing at least three stages of Bahuvrīhi compound-accentuation,

1. That the last compound must have been once a Tatpuruṣa is evidenced by the sūtra कालाः परिमाणिना (P. II, 2, 5).

2. The movement of this accent in backward direction in those Bahuvrīhi compounds whose first member is नृ or त्र is shown by the following two sūtras of Pāṇini.

कपि पूर्वम् (P. VI, 2, 173) अ-ब्रह्मबन्धुकाह॑|

अन्तर्क्ष ((P. VI, 2, 180.)

प्राणितः | पर्यान्तः |

पेरिमितोभाविमण्डलम् (P. VI, 2, 182.)

परि-स्त्राम् | परि-मण्डलम् | परि-कुलम् |

[The last compound too should have been originally an अव्ययीभावकलम् when it either accented the first member (परि-कुलम्) by the sūtra VI, 2, 33 of Pāṇini (already quoted) or the initial syllable of the second member according to the sūtra कृतीरद्दलमूलव्यालाक्षसमव्ययीभावे (P. VI, 2, 121).]

परि-कुलम् |

Then it should have passed into the intermediate stage of Talpurusa and finally into Bahuvrihi.]

प्रादस्त्वाङ्गं संशायाम् (P. VI, 2, 183.)

प्रा-कोष्ठम् | प्रा-ग्रहम् |

प्रा-द्वाराम् |

निरुदकादीनि च (P. VI, 2, 284.)

निरुपलम् | निर-माशकम् |

निर-मासिकम् | निष-कालकाहः |

निष-पेशः | निष-तरिपाहः | निष-तरिकाहः |

दुष-तरिपाहः | निर-अजिनम् | उद-अजिनम् |

उपाजिनम् | परि-हस्ताहः |

परि-कर्षाहः | निर-उदाकम् |

[The last compound throws a flood of light on the evolution of different classes of Sanskrit compounds¹. In this connection, compare the following illuminating remarks of Bhairavamīśra in his Candraśākāla—a commentary on Nāgeśa's Laghuśabdenduśekhara under this sūtra of Pāṇini.

निर्गतसुदकं यस्यादिति बहुवीहिः, निर्गतं च तदुदकमिति तत्पुरुषो वा । अर्थापावेऽव्ययीभावो वा यद्यप्यत्र संभाव्यते तथापि तत्रैतत्सूत्रप्रवृत्तिं विनापि समासान्तोदात्तत्वमैव सिद्धम् ॥]

सु-कुमारिकाहः |

हृत्वान्तेऽस्यात् पूर्वम् (P. VI, 2, 174.)

अ-वृलिकाहः | सु-माशकाहः |

1. *Vide* my article on "Double-accented Compounds."

अभिमुखम् (P. VI, 2, 185.)

abhi-mukham|

अपाच (P. VI, 2, 186.)

apa-mukham|

स्त्रिगृहतवीणाञ्जोऽध्यकुशिसीरनामनाम च (P. VI, 2, 187.)

apa-vinam| apa-nīyah| apādhvā|

apa-sirah| apa-halah| apa-taṅgalam|

apa-nāma|

द्वित्रिभ्यां पादन्मूर्धसु बहुवीही (P. VI, 2, 197.)

dvi-pāt (Rv. IV, 51, 5; X, 27, 10; 117, 8.)

tri-pādūrdhvah (Rv. X, 90, 4.)

dvīḍān| tri-murdhānam (Rv. I, 146, 1a.)

सक्षयं चाकान्तात् (P. VI, 2, 198.)

gaura-sakthah| ślakṣpa-sakthah|

The disturbance set in, in the matter of accentuation of epithetised compounds during the Vedic period, is recorded by Pāṇini and the Vārtikakāra in the next sūtra.

परादिरच्छन्दसि बहुलम् (P. VI, 2, 499.)

[अत्र वार्तिकम्]

“परादिरक्ष परान्तक्ष पूर्वीन्त क्षापि दश्यते ।

पूर्वदयक्ष ददयन्ते व्याययो बहुलं ततः ॥ ११

añji-sakthāya (TS. 7, 3, 17, 1. KS. Aśvamedhagrantha
3, 7.)

vāk-patih (VS. 4, 4; TS. 1, 2, 1, 2; 6, 1, 1, 9.)

a-mṛtam (Rv. I, 35, 2.)

tri-dhātuni (Rv. I, 85, 12b.)

tri-dhātu (Rv. I, 154, 4c.)

su-viram (Rv. I, 85, 12d.)

uru-vyacasa (Rv. I, 160, 2a.)

“अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे विचकारीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानग् ॥

(Vārtikika). tri-cakreṇa (Rv. I, 118, 2b; X, 85, 14b.)

TS. 4, 7, 15, 4.)

- tri-vṛtā (TS. 7, 3, 14, 1.)
 sū-pāyana (Rv. I, 1, 9b.)
 su-pārṇas (Rv. I, 35, 7a.)
 hiranyākṣas (Rv. I, 38, 8c.)
 su-nīthas (Rv. I, 35, 7b; 35, 10a.)
 uru-gāyah (Rv. I, 154, 1d.)
 uru-kramasya (Rv. I, 154, 5c.)
 tri-sadhaṣṭha (Rv. IV, 50, 1.)
 a-saścat-ā (Rv. I, 160, 2a.)

"This dual a-saścat-ā is a Bahuvrihi compound, 'having no second,' while a-saścat (also an epithet of Dyāvāprthivī) is a Karmadhāraya, 'not a second=unequalled', [!].

"Bahuvrihis formed with 'a' or 'an' are almost invariably accented on the final syllable as a distinction from Karmadhārayas (which normally accent the first syllable a-mānuṣah Rv. X, 22, 8); e.g. a-mātrām (Rv. I, 102, 7)." 2

" वृषपदान्तोदात्प्रकरणे मरुदृशदीना॑ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ "

Vārttika. marud-vṛddhah | citra-bhānuḥ (Rv. I, 35, 4.)

tveṣa-samdr̥śah (Rv. I, 85, 8d.)

" वृचपदान्तोदात्प्रकरणे दिवोदासादीना॑ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ "

Vārttika. divo-dāsam (Rv. I, 112, 1+2;

IV, 26, 3d; VI, 61, 1b; VII, 18, 25c.)

divo-dāsaya (Rv. IX, 61, 2.)

hiranya-pāñih (Rv. I, 35, 9a.)

bhūri-śrṅgē (Rv. I, 154, 6b.)

Now I conclude this paper with the following inferences deduced from what has been seen so far.

(1) In the pro-ethnic period, as the determinative-compounds which logically accented their first member were shuffled into a new class of compounds (which is designated as the epithelised class), they should then have quite logically accented the second

(1) A Vedic Reader by A. A. Macdonell, Page 38.

(2) *Vide* A Vedic Grammar for Students by A. A. Macdonell, Page 455, footnote 2.

member (and frequently the accent in this case might have been thrown to the final syllable of the compound).

(2) The displacement of stress by pitch accent might have originally been responsible for starting the movement of the determinative-compound-accent towards the last syllable of the first member; by this time a corresponding backward movement too, might, in all probability, have come to be started in the possessive-compound-accentuation.

(3) In the pro-ethnic period, between the stage of accenting the final syllable of the first member and the stage of accenting the initial syllable of the second member in determinative-compounds, there should have been an intermediate stage.

In a similar way, between the corresponding two stages of accentuation (namely that of initial accentuation of the second member and that of the end accentuation of the first member) of the epithetised compounds, there should have been an intermediate stage. The compounds of both the classes in Lithuanian, in which appears the composition or thematic vowel that bears the accent, correspond to those of this intermediate stage (when the accents of the determinative compounds and epithetised compounds coincided).

[The Greek determinative compound *Megalopolis* meaning, "great-town" has the same accentuation as the Greek possessive compound *megalopolies* meaning, "great-townforming"¹. Compare also the accentuation of the following Greek possessive compounds

*melan-¹-*o-komos** and

*anair-¹-*o-boulos*.*²

1. *Vide* Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend usw.* Volume III. Translated by B. Eastwick into English, para 981.

2. *Ibid* para 982. See also para 970 where Bopp notices some more Greek compounds which have an accented composition vowel. "In the development of the separate languages, the use of -o- as the connecting link in compound-words was especially frequent; hence this ending has been called the 'Vowel of composition' ('Composition-vocal')" Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen* Volume II, Section 13, page 28, English Translation.

Then, as though repelled by each other, the two accents were restored to their original logical positions in Lithuanian; but in Sanskrit, the further movement of the two accents in the direction towards which they originally began their move (that of the determinative compounds moving forward and that of the epithetised class moving backward) was not retarded; and finally aided by the view that the second member is more important of the two in determinative compounds, its accent moved to the last syllable of the compound and correspondingly the initial syllable of the epithetised compounds came to be accented as in *divodāsam*. Probably later on, it was felt quite sufficient to retain the original accent alone of the first member in epithetised compounds; and somehow it should have been felt unnecessary to scrupulously accent the initial syllable of these compounds.

ADDENDA

I

In connection with the discussion of the third stage of determinative compound accentuation, it is useful to remember that H. Hirt considers the accentuation of the relatively few compounds of the type *Viśvā śambhuvam*, *Pūrvā-Pitīs*, etc., older than that of the majority (*Vide* Der Indogermanische Akzent 319. Cp. also, F. T. Wood "Accentuation of Nominal Compounds in Lithuanian", page 21). Some compounds of this type are mentioned by Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar, Section 125-E. For further examples, *see* Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik II (1) Section 17-E and Das Dehnungsgesetz Griechischen Nominal Komposita 15.

"Bezzenberger (Beiträge zur geschichte der litauischen Sprache Göttingen 106) goes so far as to suggest the possibility that the primary stress in Avestan and Sanskrit compounds may at one time have rested, universally or frequently, on the thematic vowel of the prior constituent." *Vide* F. T. Wood. l. c. page 22.

II

On page 132, I have noticed some dvandva compounds of the older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end. The following remarks of Delbrück, whose view now is generally accepted, may be read with interest in regard to the question of the origin of dvandva compounds.

He says, "The well-known unity of two things which supplement each other may be expressed by the dual of the more important one. When to these duals is added occasionally the singular of the complementary word, but generally by attraction dual, this is due to a desire for clearness". (Syntactische Forschungen Band V 98) Delbrück rightly believed that the elliptic dual was the starting point, and from that was developed the double dual dvandva, and finally all the dvandvas of classical Sanskrit.

"In mitrā tññā nā rathyā ¹ várupo yaśca sukratuh̄ sanāt
sujñātā tñayā dñgtavratā (Rv. VIII, 25. 2). "Mitrā, an elliptic dual means 'Mitra and Varuṇa', but to make the matter perfectly plain the poet seems to have added afterwards varuṇo --- ca 'and varuṇa too' which produces a collocation that is pleonastic and highly illogical though easily comprehensible." Bergaigne and Wackernagel raise the question whether vocatives like Mitrā-varuṇā (P. P. varuṇā) Rv. I, 15. 6, etc., may belong here; whether in short, the form varuṇa of the Sāṁhitā text be not an old Voc. Sg., supplementing the (elliptic) dual Mitrā. But little reliance can be placed on this, since the Voc., as well as the Nom. Acc., dual appears repeatedly with short a (See Lanman N. inflection); yet it is possible that in one or another of the instances (they occur repeatedly) the complementary noun may have been originally felt as a singular." (See Kuhn's Zeitschrift Band 43, p. 111 f. n. 1 and p. 112 f.n. 1.)

As F. Edgerton says, after a double-dual dvandva, the repetition of one member, especially the first one, in the sg. is unthinkable. The same scholar has, to my mind, conclusively proved that in the primitive Indo-European there ought to have been two stages of Dvandva compound formation. (1) Elliptic dual as represented by Sanskrit Mitrā. (2) Elliptic dual with the addition of the singular of the complementary word as represented by Mitrā... Varuṇa. In Aryan the double duals of the type mitrā-varuṇā were formed and in the classical language the dvandvas of the type mitrā-varuṇau were formed. Vide Kuhn's Zeitschrift Band 43. Origin and Development of Elliptic Dual and of Dvandva Compounds by F. Edgerton. P. 110 ff.

III

Towards the close of my paper I have alluded to the fact of some Lithuanian compounds having the composition vowel. In that context it is good to remember the following physical fact noted by scholars. "Julian Kremer (Behandlung der suffixe in der fuge nominaler zusammensetzungen im Litauischen, in Bezzemberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen, 7th

volume, section 7. Der composition vocal, p. 42) offers as a principal reason for the use of *a* or *ə* as a composition vowel (in Schleicher's sense, which includes the Svarabhakti vowel) in Lithuanian the fact that this sound represents the 'Indifferenzlage' the neutral position to which the organs of speech most naturally return. Thus not only is the development explained, under certain conditions, of a svarabhakti vowel after the thematic vowel of the first constituent had disappeared, but the inclination of 'a' to remain in many instances as a composition vowel or to substitute itself for others receives a firm basis in physical fact" *Vide*, F. T. Wood. Op. Cit., page 18.



SUCINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF BHŪTALA
VIRA RĀMA VARMĀ, A. D. 1546.

BY

S. DESIKAVINAYAKAM PILLAI,

The inscription edited below is found engraved on the north wall near the Gopuravāśal or the main entrance on the east of the well-known Sthānuṇātha temple at Sucindrum. It is written in the Tamil language and the characters employed are also Tamil. The object of the record is to register an order of king Venrumayakonḍa Bhūtala Vira Rāma Varmā alias Śankaranārāyanamūrti Vēlaikkāraṇ, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasīhanād, for instituting a special worship on the day of Rohini, the birthday of Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala, the Vijayanagar Viceroy of South India between the years 1544 and 1555 A. D. The inscription is interesting as it throws a flood of light on the political condition of Travancore about the middle of the 16th century A. D.

That Travancore was more than once invaded by the Vijayanagar army is undoubted. The first expedition was led by Salakkam Tirumala under the orders of Achyuta Rāya and the second by Rāmarāja Viṭṭhala of our record during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya.¹

The reasons for the latter are said to be the following:

1. The king of Travancore was gradually extending his authority over a considerable area of the Tinnevelly District which legitimately belonged to the Pāṇḍya chieftains who held sway under the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar emperor.²

2. Francis Xavier, the Portuguese missionary³ who began his proselytizing activities in South India about the year 1543 A. D., converted all the Paravas of Cape Comorin, Tuticorin and

1. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 704.

2. History of the Nāyaks of Madura, p. 14.

3. "He (the Portuguese Governor) thinks of collecting all these native Christians who are now scattered at great distances from each other, of transplanting them to a certain island, and giving them a king to administer justice and look after their safety and interests."—The Hand of Xavier, pp. 5 and 6.

other places to Christianity and consequently there arose the danger of these neophytes changing their allegiance from 'the Indian rulers to the king of Portugal'.

3. Some of the rich temples of the Hindus were actually despoiled by the Portuguese Governor and his followers and the booty divided among them or sent to their king in Portugal.¹

Circumstances such as these called for the immediate intervention of the central Government at Vijayanagar. Rāmāraja Viṭṭhala was appointed Viceroy² and sent to the South with a large army at his command. His military expedition was a complete success. The Portuguese Governor Alfonso de Sousa and his men were scared away. The Paravas of the coastal regions remained loyal subjects of the Hindu Rājas as before and the aggressive policy of the Travancore king was effectively checked. The present document bears eloquent testimony to the political peace-offering which Bhūtala Vira Rāma Varma made to one of the most powerful and influential representatives of the Vijayanagar Empire at that time.

An unpublished inscription from Cape Comorin states that Viṭṭhaladeva set up a pillar of victory there after his successful campaign in the South.

Numerous inscriptions of Travancore kings are found scattered all over the Tinnevelly District. A study of them and also of the records from some of the temples in South Travancore reveals to us that Bhūtala Vira Rāma Varma and another king Bhūtala Vira Udayamārtānda were ruling simultaneously in the year 722 M. E. (See appendix). Were they co-regents or independent kings?

What is the exact significance of the epithet *sākaranārāyaṇa*? Why is it often prefixed to the names of the Travancore kings who belonged to the latter part of the 7th or the earlier part of the 8th century M. E. and not to any rulers of other times? These are interesting questions yet to be solved by research. The ruler of Travancore in modern days styles himself Sri Padmanābha Dāsa in memory of the great dedication of the state to God Sri Padmanābha of Trivandrum by Mārtānda Varma in 925 M. E. (1750 A. D.) Śākaranārāyaṇa is the name of the presiding deity in the temple at Nāvāykkulam (*நாவைக்குலம்*), a village

1. The Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, p. 297.

2. S. I. I, Vol. V, No. 704.

about 8 miles to the north-east of Arringal (அர்ரிங்கல்), the cradle of the reigning Royal family of Travancore.

The astronomical details found in II. 1-2 are correct for October 26, 1546 A. D.

TEXT.

1. ஸாக்ஷியூர் வைநவி^{து} சௌஷ்டாம் எந்தானு தாங் குரித்து சூதா பக்கந்த துறிவையும் பக்கன்
2. வாராம் பெற்ற அபூர்வத்தினால் செதங்களுடும் சங்கங்களுடும் மூர்த்தி வேலீக்காரன் சௌஷ்டம்
3. சங்கங்கட பூஷாவீர இராமங்கர் என்ற பேருடை செதங்க சாப்தி முத்தவாய எம்பலி
4. அ; சௌஷ்டிரமுடைய எப்ளு+ சௌப்பிராங்கு சொரியாம் சொரிய (ச) கணக்கும் மொழிய எப்ளு+ சோமாப்
5. உச்சதாங்கேவாம் சேஷ்டியும் ஜக்ஷிணியும் எந்த முதலாக்கு மலிந்து இதிருங்கான வேஷ்டி கால
6. காவும் ஆச்சினை கை-ஈவும் ஆங்கி நூற்குக்கு கோடை இருபது இக்கோடை இருபத்தும் நிரு
7. எங் படிக்கு பக்காம் செல்லும் உற்ற படிக்கும் விட்டவேச்சை மாணாராதின் திருந்தேசத்திராயன் உரோ
8. கணி க; ஒசுக்கிரத்தில் பெருமள் தெக்கிருக்கை வின்கலாக் எம்பெருமான் அருது (க) சுயசிரி
9. ப்புக்கும் பாரித்தத்துக்கும் திரு காநாவை ஏட்டுவும் பிறத்தே ஒவ் விப் பிறவாத்திலில் எழுந்தருக்கிற
10. காக்கும் விட்டுக்குமித்தோய் எப்ளூர் போசயாப் பன்னால்கென் எங் வைப்பாரியையும்மூ
11. காற்பம் பின்னொக்கையும் எப்ளூர் கச்சிரமுடைய எப்ளு(ச) குடை காளைப் பாத்துக்கொள்ளும்
12. படி எழுதற்ற இருபத்திருங்காராயன்டு அந்புளி மாதம் இருபத் தாக்கும்தெய்க்கி மீனங்களுடாத்து
13. கல்க்குஞச்சின் வீட்டாலிருந்த கந்பித்த அவைக்கு ஆசந்தாநாயந் செம்பிதூம் கல்விழும் கொ
14. டாப்பிப்புத்தை கொங்கலும் இப்படிக்கும் கணக்கு கேக்கடக் கிட்டுங்கள் எழுத்து.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

On the 26th of Tulām 722 M. E. Veerumāṇikōṇḍa Bhūṭala Vira Rāma Varmā, the Senior Tiruvaṭi of Jayasimhanādī,

abolished certain posts, other than those of Śrikāryam and Śrikāryakkaṇakku, in the establishment of the Sucindram temple, and with the savings thus effected made provision for offerings and special worship to God குடி திருவோட்டு வெள்ளி on the day of Rohini which was the natal star of Viṭhaleśvara Mahārāja (of the Vijayanagar empire). The order was issued while the king was camping at Kalkulam in Malaimandalam. It bears the signature of the accountant அதிகாரியான்.

Notes.

I. 2. (a) Another inscription of the same king dated 13th Kārtikai 722 M. E. has the following:

"குடியே சூரிய சூரிய முத்தி திரு வெள்ளையம்". (S. I. I., V, No., 409).

'Gurudevarūp'—"திருவாறு தென்னே, உல்லை தெழிமலை குடியே சூரிய முத்தி' என்ற பெயர் பொதுவாக அப்போது எட்டுக்கும் குப்தரை". (கச்சாமி, Q. S. XVI, n. 3).

Contra S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 98 Foot note.

In the text the expression means only 'a staunch devotee of God Śāṅkaranārāyaṇi'.

(b) 'Gurudevarūp'

'Who took the earth by right of conquest'. Contra, S. I. I. Vol. I, pp. 77-8.

I. 4. தெஷ்டீக.—Modern ஏதீஸு—the place where Indra's body was purified. It is situated in South Travancore.

பௌத்தம்.—The post of the temple manager.

புது செய்வு.....தெஷ்டீக.—From this it can easily be inferred that the posts maintained for the general supervision of the temple lands were abolished by the king's command.

I. 5. செய்வு (செய்வு).

(1) Command, oral sanction. 'நெந்தை செய்வுஞ்சு' (S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 306).

(2) Administration of justice (Lexicon). The office of the tax-collector in Nāñjinād̄ corresponding to that of the village munsiff in other parts is even now known as *செய்வைசெய்வி*.

தெஷ்டீக (தெஷ்டீக) punishment, penalty.

பூதை (பூதை) pay or remuneration given to temple servants etc.

cf. வட. அம்பாவாம், வட. அம்பாவான்.

1. 7. தமிழகத்தின்.—தமிழ்நிலம்.

1. 8. கோரி சுநிரங்கை என்றென்றால்—the name of the God (Visnu) in the temple at Sucindram,

1. 9. சிறப்பு—special pūjā or worship.
பாலிதங்கு—பாலங்கள்.

1. 10. வைராவி. The members of a separate caste in S. Travancore are known as Vairavis (Bhairāgīs) or Yōgipparadēśis. Many of them are hereditary watchmen or door-keepers of the temples at Sucindram, Cape Comorin and other places in Nāñjimād. (See T. A. S. Vol. V, Part II, pp. 168-170).

1. 11. பொறுத்தீர்வார்—a menial servant.

பொறுத்தீர் an interesting word.

பொறுத்தீர் and பொறுத்தீர் are its variants.

See T. A. S. Vol. V, Part. II, p. 168. Foot note; K. S. Papers Series 4, pp. 219 & 220.

1. 13. பல்க்காவு—modern Padmanābhapuram. It was the ancient capital of Travancore.

APPENDIX.

List of Travancore kings whose inscriptions are found dated in the year 722 M. E.

No.	King.	Place.	Date.	Remarks.
1	Rēṣṭa Vāṁśa Tiruvadī Paṇḍīram of Jayasimhanādu	Kariśūḍamānasaṅgamam	Ko. 722 Mārkali 8,	Administration Report of the Travancore Archaeological Dept. for 1108 M. E., p. 21, No. 19.
2	Saikarandīśayana Venrumankonda Bhūtala Vira Śri Vira Udayamārtanda Vāṁśa Siraivai Muttavar	Tiruppudamarudur.	Ko. 722 Tai 10.	Do. p. 22, No. 24.
3	Jayatunganādu Śankaranārāyana Venru- mankonda Śri Bhūtala Vira Rāma Vāṁśa, Jayatunganādu Śankaranārāyana Venru- mankonda Bhūtala Vira Śri Udaya Mārt- anda Vāṁśa Siravai Muttavar	Tenkasi	Ko. 722 Chitrai 17.	Do. p. 24, No. 30.
4	Jayatunganādu Śankaranārāyana Venru- mankonda Bhūtala Vira Śri Udaya Mārt- anda Vāṁśa Siravai Muttavar	Alyārthirunagari	Ko. 722 Minam.	Do. p. 25, No. 35.
5	Saikarandīśayana Venrumankonda Bhūtala Vira Udayamārtanda Vāṁśa Siravai muttavar of Jayasimhanādu	Kattari-mariyalam.	Ko. 722 Ādi 25.	Madras Epigraphical Re- port for 1929-30, No. 372.
6	Jayasimhanādu Śankaranārāyana Mūrti Tinnevelly Tiruvelakkārau Venjumankonda Śri Bhūtala Vira Rāma Vāṁśa, Jayasimha- nādu Muttavar	..	Ko. 722 Kārikai 13.	South Indian Inscriptions Vol. V, No. 409
7	Jayasimhanādu Śankaranārāyana Mūrti Sucindram Velaikkārap Venrumankonda Bhūtala Vira Rāma Vāṁśa	..	Ko. 722 Tulam 26.	..

TAMIL L.

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

Maharaja's College, Ernakulam,

The history and the phonetic relationships of the sound *l* [=*ɸ*] which is characteristic of Tamil and a few other Dravidian languages and so difficult of utterance to the uninitiated foreigner, have so far not been clarified or discussed with reference to all the Dravidian speeches and dialects. Caldwell made a few summary and categorical observations regarding this sound in his *Comparative Grammar* (pages 144, 161, 162 of the second edition); but, since the time of this distinguished pioneer student of Dravidian, so much new linguistic material relating to the major and the minor speeches of this language-family has been collected that it is essential now to make a revaluation of facts regarding the occurrence of the sound, its phonation, its distribution and its relatives and developments. The aim of the present paper is to make a revaluation of this kind with the help of all available materials: the data furnished by inscriptions and literary texts, the evidence of the indigenous grammars of the south and the testimony of the forms of the north.

Distribution.

The sound *l* exists in old and new Tamil; old and new Malayālam, old Kannada (before the 13th century), in pre-literary Telugu inscriptions, in Badaga and in Toda. In the last-mentioned dialect (spoken by a few hundreds of hill-men in the Nilgiris), the sound is met with to-day only as a development of other sounds.

Tamil.

Generally speaking, the sound receives correct evaluation in the Tamil country. It is true that in some areas and among some communities, the sound changes to *y* or becomes "corrupted" to *y*; but the actual phonation of the sound is recognized everywhere, any alteration in the correct evaluation being considered (sometimes even by the speakers themselves) as a departure from the normal standard of purity. On p. 18 of his *Manuel de*

la langue Tamoule, Vinson observes; " à Pondicherry, a Karikal et dans le Tanjâvûr s'articule comme le *j* français, dans le Maduré et au nord-ouest comme *l* cerebral; vers Madras il ne se prononce pas ou s'adoucit en *y*". Prof. Vinson's observation should not, I think, lead to a wrong emphasis being laid on the fact that these "corruptions" are in any way universal or are not recognised as such by the large majority of speakers.

The sound is a very common one in literature from the earliest known times. The number of words with *l* is much more numerous in Tamil than in any other Dravidian speech. Later on in the course of my essay, I shall give a list of Tamil literary words with *l*, the cognates of which do not evidence *l* even in Mal. or in Kannada. At least a few of these may show a secondarily developed *l*. I would, however, mention here the common colloquial *kɛl* for *kɛl* 'to hear' as containing a secondary *l* derived from *l*. [cf. also *kēlvī-p-padi* in a 11th century inscription published on p. 106, Part I, Vol. II of South Indian Inscriptions].

Malayālam.

The sound exists in both the literary and the colloquial dialects of this west coast speech. Here too, though "corruptions"¹ of the sound occur in the speech of the uneducated masses, the pure value of the sound receives universal recognition.

A secondarily developed *l* is met with in Malayālam in the following instances:—

- alca* 'week'—cf. Tam. *ālci*
- kālca* 'sight'—cf. „ *kālci*
- vēlca* 'love'—cf. „ *vēl-*
- vēlri* 'sacrifice'—cf. „
- nil-* in old literary compounds like *nil-kāṇḍi*, cf. *nil* 'long' etc,
- kilukk-* 'to knock on the head'
- kil-* 'to weep'

The above forms are standard literary words, and many of them are used in common speech also; but the following words are "corrupt" colloquial variants heard in parts of Malabar:—

1. Cf., particularly, "corrupt" forms like *vycce* [for *olicee*] in *vittayicce* 'left off', *orakkoyicce* 'cast off sleep' of Mopla Mal. [p. 4 of the texts of Gramaphone Records published by the Madras Govt.]

alaykk- for *ayakk-* 'to send'

kaññūñu for *kāññūñu* [IA *kramuka*] 'areca-nut-tree',

Kannada.

The sound disappeared from Kannada by about the 13th century from which time it changed to / wherever syncope did not lead to the suppression of the sound.

A secondarily derived / appears in literary Kannada in the following:—

(i) The following words, the counterparts of which do not show / in Tamil or in Mal.

cēl 'scorpion'—cf. Tam. *tel*.

pōkkul 'navel'—cf. „ *pōkkul*.

kañjal 'buttermilk'—cf. Tam. *kañjai*- 'to churn'.

(ii) Word compounds in which final q changes to / [see *Sabdamanjdarpana*, 183]:—

kōl-kiccu 'forest fire' [*kōdu* + *kiccu*].

nāl-kāḍe 'village shop' [*nādu* + *kāḍe*].

erāl-mātu 'two words' [*eraḍu* + *mātu*].

(iii) In inflectional and conjugational sandhi:—

future stem with p:—*māl-p-*,

nōl-p-;

dative forms with -g:— *esal-ge*=*esadi-ge*;

optatives with -ke *mālge*=*mādu-ge*.

(iv) Some verbal and nominal bases with optional /.—

kuñ-g- = *kurng-* 'to be contracted'.

māl-g- = *mugu-g-* 'to be reduced to fragments'.

pēl-g- 'to quarrel'—cf. *peñag-*.

eldu = *erudu* 'bull'.

palli = *parti* 'cotton'.

Telugu.

Very important for the student of Dravidian is the discovery of the presence of the sound / in some of the pre-literary Telugu inscriptions. Epigraphists are agreed (in spite of a few dissentient views) in thinking that the sound / does occur in a number of pre-Nannaya inscriptions. I give below a list of a few relevant words containing the sound:—

L. Inscriptional instances of place-names (as read by M. S. Sarma) *idūñāru*, *polaki* (which name has now changed to *prakki*) and *pōñāñādu* (now *prōñādu*).

cōla 'cōla' [Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 223; Vol. VIII, p. 177;
Vol. XI, p. 337].

ēlu 'seven' [Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 337, 845].

laccina pāpam 'the sin of destroying' [ib., p. 676.]

lassi 'having destroyed' [ib.]

allicina pāpam 'the sin of having destroyed'

laccina-vāyru 'he who destroyed'

laccu-vāyru 'the who destroys' [Vikram. inscription.]

kojatci 'having caused to shine' [Addanki inscr.]

From about the 10th and the 11th centuries onwards in literary texts and inscriptions, *ēlu* appears as *ēdu* and *cōla* as *cōda*. So far as *lacc-*, *lass-* and *ali-* are concerned, the suggestion that the common base underlying these forms appears later as *dayy-* 'to be destroyed' has already been made, though nobody has proved the derivation with analogies. I suggest the following proofs to show that *ali* [corresponding to Tamil, Kann. *ati*], *lays* [the base of the past stem *lacc-*, *lass-*], and later *dayy-* are normally related:—

(i) the occurrence of accent-shift accompanied by the aphæresis of the initial syllable, is a phonological phenomenon in Telugu which I have already discussed elsewhere at some length [QJMS, 1932]. A form like *[ayy-* in which the vowel *-a-* represents the aphæresized original initial *a-* of *ali*] is normally derivable from *ali*; cf. Tel. *ie-* — Tam., Kann. *el-*, Tel. *di-g-* = Tam., Kann. *ili*, Tel. *gruyyi* — Tam., Kann. *kuli*.

(ii) The correspondence of literary Tel. *q* — Tam., Kann. *i* is met with in numerous instances (see below).

It is therefore quite justified to postulate that *lays*, *ali* of the old Telugu inscriptions are normally connected with literary *dayy-* and *adi-* in *adi-y-asa* 'vain hope'.

These inscriptional Telugu forms with *l*, and particularly the accent-shifted *laccina*, *lassi*, etc., do raise the presumption that at a stage previous to the 11th century, the sound *l* occurred at least in a few instances in Telugu also, as in Tamil and in Kannada and that this *l* changed to *q* in instances like *dayy-*, *ēdu*. The forms with *l* are met with in inscriptions of different tracts

The existence of *l* in Telugu inscriptions was first pointed out by the epigraphist Lakshmaya Rao; and, later, these instances have been discussed by others in the columns of the Journal of the Telugu Academy and of the Telugu monthly Bhārati.

of the Telugu country and of different periods. Further, the accent-shift and aphæresis (so characteristic of Telugu and conspicuous by its absence in Tulu, and in Kannada) underlying the forms *laeciuia*, *lassi* rule out the suggestion that these forms may have been borrowed from Kannada.

Baḍaga.

The sound *l* occurs in Baḍaga (a dialect of Kannada with certain marked peculiarities) in two sets of instances:—(i) in accent-shifted Baḍaga variants of older words with *l* corresponding to their Kannada counterparts with *ɛ*; (ii) as a new development of the older cerebral *l* in some words.

(i) old *l* in accent-shifted Baḍaga forms¹:

- hl̥g-g-* 'to speak'—cf. Kann. *p̥ɛl-*, *hɛl-*
- hl̥ai-* 'to be finished'—cf. Kann. *kali-*
- nl̥d̥lu* 'shade' —cf. " *neʃal*
- hogl-* 'to praise' —cf. " *pogal-*
- tl̥agg-* 'to be lowered'—cf. " *tal̥g-*
- yl̥i-g-* 'to descend' —cf. " *ili*
- yl̥a-* 'to weep' —cf. " *al-*
- gl̥ayi* 'pit' —cf. " *gn̥li*; cf. also Tel. *gruyyi*,
- bl̥u-* 'to fall' —cf. " *bil-*
- hl̥l* 'below' —cf. " *hil*
- yl̥e-* 'to rise' —cf. Kann. *el-*
- kl̥i-* 'to tear' —cf. " *kil-*
- bl̥ayi* 'way' —cf. " *bali*
- hl̥lays* 'old' —cf. " *hole, pale*.

The accent-shift is evidenced by the disappearance of the original vowel of the first syllable (which leads to the consonant groups with *l*), and by the transference (with lengthening in some instances like *hl̥e-* 'to speak', *hl̥l* 'below') of the vowel of the original first syllable to the radical position in the newly-formed words.

(ii) Baḍaga *l* as a development of older *ɛ*:

- hengli* 'women'—cf. Kann. *hengalu*, *hengasuru*
- obblu* 'one woman'—cf. " *obbalu*
- makklu* 'children'—cf. " *makkalu*
- jinaglu* 'days' —cf. " *dinagalu* [IA *dina* 'day']
- avla* 'her' —cf. " *avala*

1. All these instances are collected from the Baḍaga gospels written by the Mangalore missionaries. I learn that in common colloquial very often the sound *l* is slurred over in Baḍaga today.

<i>hēdla</i> 'she went'	—cf.	Karin. <i>pōdañu</i>
<i>tinglu</i> 'mouth'	—cf.	" <i>tiñgoñu</i>
<i>bly</i> 'corn'	—cf.	" <i>belye</i>
<i>blai</i> 'outside'	—cf.	" <i>beli</i>
<i>mñō-</i> 'to sprout'	—cf.	" <i>mole-</i>
<i>kjē-</i> 'to hear'	—cf.	" <i>kēl-</i>
<i>kjēg-</i> 'to send'	—cf.	" <i>kañuhis-</i>
<i>yjōgu</i> 'inside'	—cf.	" <i>olagu</i>
<i>blēdu</i> 'it grew ripe'	—cf.	" <i>beledudu</i>
<i>blēcca</i> 'light'	—cf.	" <i>belicca</i>

Toda.

(i) Old *l* is replaced by different sounds in this dialect:—

<i>biññl-</i> 'having fallen'	—cf.	Kann. <i>bild-</i>
<i>kirk</i> 'below'	—cf.	" <i>kil</i>
<i>kudi</i> 'owl'	—cf.	" <i>kōli</i>
<i>affidi</i> 'wept'	—cf.	" <i>ol-</i>
<i>boji</i> 'way'	—cf.	" <i>bañi</i>
<i>ednt-</i> 'having risen'	—cf.	" <i>el-d-</i>
<i>iqñi</i> 'having dragged'	—cf.	" <i>il-d-</i>
<i>kudi</i> 'ditch'	—cf.	" <i>kuñi</i>
<i>ederrī</i> 'having roused'	—cf.	" <i>elb-</i>
<i>pūf</i> 'worm' [Note syncope] —cf.	" <i>pulu</i>	

(ii) A new *l* appears in the following words used by Miss C. F. Ling in her gospels; in reply to a query of mine she writes to me that the sound *l* in these words is exactly like Tamil *l* in phonation:—

<i>tillim</i> 'glad'	—cf.	Kann. <i>tili</i> 'bright'
<i>billi</i> 'silver'	—cf.	" <i>belli</i>
<i>bal, pal</i> 'sword'	—cf.	" <i>bäl</i>
<i>pullu</i> 'bird'	—cf.	" <i>pul</i>
<i>bēl, pēl</i> 'finger'	—cf.	" <i>beraf, berñu, bellu</i>
<i>milli</i> 'horn'	—cf.	" <i>millu, mil</i>

II

Phonation.

Both in Tamil and in Malayalam, it is a voiced continuative produced by the passage of air through a channel (slightly broader than that for *s*) formed between the curled-up tongue-tip and the cacuminal (or sometimes post-alveolar) region of the mouth-roof. There is no contact (except for the sides of the

tongue, with some speakers) with the mouth-roof; if a contact occurred, the sound produced would be the plosive *ɸ* when there explosion preceded by tension, or */* when the air is allowed to escape sideways. There is also no "hissing" as for the production of the voiced variety of *s*; the passage between the tongue-tip and the mouth-roof should be kept slightly broader than for the production of the voiced variant of *s* in order to allow air to escape through the passage and along the sides in a continuous stream without any "hissing" whatsoever.

The notation of the Royal Asiatic Society employs */* to denote the sound, while the I. P. Association (following the suggestion of Prof. Daniel Jones) regards it as a cerebralised variety of the fricative heard in the south English evaluation of *r* in the English word *farm*.

The description given in the old Tamil grammars about the manner of production of the sound is not sufficiently clear.

Tol. El., 95 says: *nunti nā anara appam varuda ra-gāra la-gāram-āy-irāndam pīrakkum* "r and / are produced when the tip of the tongue gently rubs the hard palate".

Nannūl 83: *appam nayi nā tarnda ra la varum* "when the tongue-tip gently rubs the hard palate, r and / are produced".

It is difficult to see from a present-day stand point (i) why *r* and */* should be clubbed together with regard to their manner of production, (ii) how there is any "gentle rubbing" at all in the production of */* which (as evaluated to-day in Tamil) involves no "rubbing" of the tip.

The continuant character of the sound */* is, however, recognized by Tol. El. 21 which classifies it as an *idai-y-eļuttu* with *y*, *l*, */* and *v*, by Sūtra 78 which allows */* to be the absolute final in words, and by Sūtra 48 which allows the sound as the initial member of consonant groups with *k*, *c*, *p*, *t*, etc.

There is also little doubt that the sound */* was a cacuminal from a fairly early time because of the *sandhi* underlying word-compounds like *śōṇḍu* [=śōṇa + nāḍu.]

The fourteenth-century Mal. grammar *Lilātilakam* recognizes */* as a unique Tam.—Mal. sound with a cerebral value. Its individuality as a separate phoneme is specifically discussed in the commentary on Sūtra II, 7 of this work.

The Kannada grammars *Sabda Smṛti* [Sūtra 6] and *Sabdamanidarpasa* [18] point out the cerebral character of the sound

t in Kannada because of its *ekasthāni* relationship to the *mārdhanya* plosive *ṭ*.

The Śabdamaṇidarpaya belonging to the 13th century (by which time the sound *t* was far on the road to disappearance in Kannada), devotes as many as seven *sūtras* to the discussion of the rules relating to the *t*-sound. Among other things it prescribes the need for the use of *t* in words according to the usage of great poets [23]: *mahākāvī dṛṣṭamām uirākuṭam pēlge*. Sūtra 48 of the same grammar refers to the occurrence of the sound *t* as an absolute final in Kannada,—which is an implied recognition of the "continuant" character of the sound.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ASTRONOMICAL DATA OF THE PARIPĀDAL

BY

K. G. SANGEET.

The earliest extant Tamil works are the so-called Saṅgham collections known as the *Ettuttokai*, *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the *Paṭīcch-Kikkāṇakai*. The *Paripādal* is one of the *Ettuttokai* and includes 24 poems set to music, by various authors and on various subjects. The 11th *Paripādal* is a poem on the river Vaiyai, composed by the poet Nallanduvanar. Apart from its considerable literary merits, it is of unique interest in that it enables us to fix the Saṅgham age accurately, by a careful consideration of its astronomical data. But, owing to difficulties of interpretation and calculation, all efforts to do so, including mine, have so far proved unsatisfactory, and scholars have therefore tacitly given it up as a hopeless task. Failing in a frontal attack, I have recently been trying flanking movements, and, after various trials and failures, I believe I have after all succeeded in solving the riddle, though the data I have now arrived at goes quite against the view I have urged in various papers regarding the Saṅgham age. The data are contained in the following opening lines of the poem:—

நிகதிர் மதிசமை விவக்கிம்பு புணர்ப்ப
வெரிசுட மயில்வேஷ தலைபொக் கூருக்க
உக்குவிகடப் படத்தலூன் குருப்பதிர் நிருக்கலை
ஆகுமெழு வெள்ளியு தெற்றியல் சோ

5. வகுக்குவப் படுமான் காங்கிப் போகுடெ
புத்தி விதைம் போகுதபி புலமிடு
ஏக்கி வியாசிதப் பாதைக் கங்குவ
விள்ளாத் தலைக்குப்பா செங்க விழுவாம்
விள்ளிர் கண்மார் பூவப்பாம் போவ்வை
10. வநிய மகநப் பகுதாசில் காம்க்க
பொதிலின் முனிவள் புளாவாட்டு சீதி
விதை மண்ய விரிக்கி வோனி
வெதி வரவு மாரி வினாகேவால் வாற்குந
புளாவெழு காவய் போழிமங்க தாங்.

The meaning of the first three lines is not quite clear. The commentator Parimēlalakar interprets them to mean that the

heavens were divided into three *Vithis* named Meṣa, R̄ṣabha and Mithuna *Vithis*, each consisting of 9 *nakṣatras*. The Meṣa *Vithi* is said to have comprised the 4 *rāśis* R̄ṣabha, Mithuna, Karkaṭaka and Siṁha; the R̄ṣabha *Vithi* the 4 *rāśis*, Kanyā, Tulā, Mīna and Meṣa; and the Mithuna *Vithi*, the remaining 4 *rāśis* Vṛścika, Dhanus, Makara and Kumbha. The three *Vithis* and their component *rāśis* as stated here are also mentioned in the *Pīṅgala-Nighaṇṭu*. But it is doubtful if the text can bear this interpretation. It is not certain that the conventional division into *vithis* dates back to such an early period. Again, Meṣa, R̄ṣabha and Mithuna are not mentioned by name, but are only said to be indicated by the words *Eri*, *Sādai* and *Vēlam*. *Eri* means fire, and therefore indicates Kṛttikā, whose presiding deity is Agni, and, through Kṛttikā, R̄ṣabha which includes $\frac{1}{4}$ Kṛttikā. The equation *eri*=fire=Agni=Kṛttikā=R̄ṣabha, seems rather far-fetched; and it is not clear why R̄ṣabha is not indicated by Rohiṇī, the whole of which is in R̄ṣabha, rather than by Kṛttikā, part of which is in Meṣa. In the same way *Sādai* is said to indicate Mithuna, through Ādrā, whose deity is Rudra, the god with *sādai*; and *Vēlam* Meṣa, through Bharani, whose *yoni* is *Vēlam* (elephant). In a previous paper, I contended that the passage indicates the *asterisms* rather than the *nakṣatra* segments of Kṛttikā, Ādrā and Revati or Bharani (both have for *yoni* the elephant) to be located in R̄ṣabha, Mithuna and Meṣa *rāśis*, and deduced therefrom some chronological limits for the present poem. But now I am not sure that Patimēlajakar has interpreted these three lines correctly. They seem to mean only "in the heavens which have been spaced out into 27 mansions named *eri*, *sādai*, *vēlam*, etc., (whatever the *nakṣatras* they indicate) for the bright moon to rest"; and it is therefore unsafe to draw any chronological inferences from a passage of such doubtful import.

Supposing, however, that Patimēlajakar's interpretation is correct, let us see to what inferences it leads us. The asterisms Kṛttikā, Ādrā and Revati or Bharani would be in R̄ṣabha (30° to 60°), Mithuna (60° to 90°) and Meṣa (0° to 30°), the *Yogatārā* of Revati is identified with 6 Piscium, whose longitude in 1690 A. C. was, according to Flamsteed's *Catalogus Britannicus*, $15^{\circ}32'$. If therefore by *Vēlam* we mean Revati, it could not have been in Meṣa before $1690 - (15 + \frac{4}{12} \times 72) = 572$ A. C. as the rate of precession is 1° for every 72 years. If on the other hand

by *Vēlam* we mean Bharani which is identified with 35 Arietis ($42^{\circ}36'$ in 1690 A. C.) or with 41 Arietis ($43^{\circ}52'$ in 1690 A. C.), it was in Meṣa from 1690— $(43 + \frac{4}{5} \times 72) = 1470$ B. C. to 1690— $(12 + \frac{4}{5} \times 72) = 773$ A. C. This period of 2242 years (1470 B. C. to 773 A. C.) is however too wide for our purpose. But Kṛttikā and Ārdrā will help us to define the limits more closely. The *yogaīdrā* of Kṛttikā is identified with Alcyone ($55^{\circ}40'$ in 1690 A. C.); and it could not have been in R̄śabha before 1690— $25\frac{40}{60} \times 72 = 159$ B. C. The *yogaīdrā* of Ārdrā is identified with Orionis ($84^{\circ}24'$ in 1690 A. C.) or with 135 Tauri ($83^{\circ}20'$ in 1690 A. C.); and it could not have been in Mithuna before 1690— $24\frac{25}{60} \times 72 = 69$ B. C. Combining the inferences from the location of Revati or Bharani Kṛttikā and Ārdrā in Meṣa, R̄śabha and Mithuna respectively, we may conclude that the 11th *Parīpāḍal* dates between 69 B. C. and 773 A. C. But this does not take us beyond the present state of our knowledge as to the limits (C. 1 to 700 A. C.) of the Saṅgham age. For, on the one hand, the reference to Gajabāhu in the *Silappadikāram* indicates that the Saṅgham age cannot be dated before the 1st Century A. C.; and, on the other hand, it is certain that C. 700 A. C. is the later limit, as, according to the bigger Cignamāṇūr plates, the Saṅgham was founded and the victory at Talai-y-ālaṅkāram, famed in the Saṅgham works, was won by ancestors of Mārvarmāṇi Arikēśar. It may also be pointed out that, according to Parimēlājkar, the *nakṣatras* were not Kṛttikā, as in that case Revati or Bharani should be in Mina, not Meṣa. It should also be noted that the rate of precession has been here assumed to be 1° for every 72 years, and not, as suggested by Mr. L. D. Svāmikanṭu Pillai, 1° for every 60 or 61 years, as the longitudes given by Flamsteed are tropical, and there is no evidence to show that sidereal longitudes were used in India before the time of Āryabhaṭa (C. 500 A. C.).

We are then told that Venus was in R̄śabha (30° to 60°) Mars in Meṣa (0° to 30°), and Mercury in Mithuna (60° to 90°) and that the time was day-break. Then we have the phrase *an̄gi nyar nȳpa*. Parimēlājkar says this means that Kṛttikā was in the Zenith. If this is correct, the Sun must have been in $90^{\circ} + 39^{\circ}$ (true longitude of Kṛttikā)— 129° , and Venus and Mercury, whose maximum distances from the Sun are 48° and 26° , cannot have longitudes less than 81° and 103° , which are at least 21° and 13° beyond the required positions. It has therefore been con-

tended that *syār* cannot mean "Zenith", but only "visibly high up". As against this, it may be urged that in a purely astronomical passage like this, it would be more reasonable to interpret *syār* in its technical sense of *ucca*, and that, if Kṛttikā was not in the Zenith, there is no reason for its being mentioned in this passage, and there would be no indication of the Sun's position, while all the other planets are correctly located. We have, therefore, to accept the Sun's longitude as 129° and find out ways of reconciling this with the positions given for Venus and Mercury. One alternative would be to take the positions given in this passage for all the planets as their mean positions. But while the mean positions of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn do not vary greatly from their true ones, the true positions of Mercury and Venus depend more on the position of the Sun rather than on their own mean positions, which vary so considerably from their true ones, as to give an altogether incorrect idea of their location. Besides, I have made careful calculations by mean motions of the planets, and could not get a single date to suit the given data between C. 1 and 700 A.C. This alternative therefore must be given up. The only other explanation that I can think of for the discrepancy is that in the early times in which the *Paripādal* was composed, the Hindus had not yet succeeded in calculating correctly the true motions of the minor planets Venus and Mercury, whose daily mean motions are $1^{\circ} 6'$ and $4^{\circ} 1'$ respectively, and that in calculating suitable dates for the astronomical data of the 11th *Paripādal*, we may practically ignore the positions of Venus and Mercury given in the text.

It may be asked whether, in view of the discrepancy noted here, we should not rather discard the given data as purely fictitious or conventional. I do not think so. For, I have not found these same positions given in the *Bṛhat-Jātaka* or other astrological works among the conventional conjunctions for heavy showers. Neither can they be fictitious, for, barring Venus and Mercury, they work out correctly, involve no astronomical anomalies, and the poet could have no object in stating purely fictitious data in such detail when they are not relevant to the main purpose of his poem. We have, therefore, no alternative but to take the data as genuine and perhaps copied from an almanac of those days, and seek for other explanations regarding the discrepancy pointed out, if the explanation I have offered is not deemed satisfactory.

Jupiter is said to be beyond the two houses of Saturn, that is, in Mīna (330° to 0°). In Hindu astrology, each solar sign is said to have a planet for its lord, and the lord of Makara and Kumbha is Saturn. This reference to the two houses of Saturn shows that the poet was acquainted with Hindu astrology, as the mention of Mithuna and Makara by their Sanskrit names also indicates. Saturn is said to be in *viliy Kadai Makara*. This may be taken to mean "In Makara, next to Dhanus (*viliyku-*adai**)", or "in the last quarter of Dhanus (*viliy-Kadai*) and Makara". If the former meaning is correct, Saturn was in Makara (270° to 300°) as Parimēlañakar construes. If the latter meaning is preferred, Saturn was in the junction point of Dhanus and Makara, that is, exactly 260° , or at least its longitude was not less than $270^{\circ} - 7^{\circ}30' = 262^{\circ}30'$, the beginning of the last quarter of Dhanus. In any case, Saturn cannot have been 13° distant from the beginning of Makara, as it would have to be in Mr. L. D. Svāmikanṇu Pillai's dates for the *Parīpādal* (16th June 634 A.C.). It may be pointed out that, according to Hindu astrology, all the planets are here said to be located in their *svaksetras* (own houses), though such a grouping is not said to have any astrological significance, so far as I have been able to find out from the astrological works accessible to me.

Then we have the words *pāmbollai mālīya maratiyavaru nājil*. They naturally mean that a lunar eclipse was shortly expected, "on a day when the serpent was quickly coming to obscure the moon", though it is possible to take them to mean that the moon set in the region of Āślesā (the asterism of Sarpa). But the use of the word *varu* and the absence of the locative suffix in *pāmbu* decide us in favour of the former interpretation. Agastya (Canopus) is then said to have reached Mithuna (60° to 90°), breaking forth from his high place, but he is not said to have become visible.

The chronological significance of this reference to Agastya has been completely missed by all scholars who have hitherto dealt with this problem. I have been at some pains to study the position and motion of Agastya, as I felt that here was a clue which might lead to a discovery of the true date of the *Parīpādal*. Flamsteed gives us the longitude of Canopus in 1690 A. C. as $100^{\circ}46'$. Its position therefore at the beginning of the Christian era, was in $100^{\circ}46' - 1690^{\circ}/72 = 77^{\circ}18'$, and in 700 A. C. its longitude was $77^{\circ}18' + 700/72 = 87^{\circ}1'$. The present *Suryasiddhānta*

(10th Century A. C.) gives its longitude as 90° , which it would have attained in $700 + (2^{\circ}59' \times 72) = 915$ A. C. Thus it is clear that from 1 A. C. to 700 A. C., Agastya was always in Mithuna. What then does the *Paripadal* mean by saying that on a particular day Agastya reached Mithuna, breaking forth from its high place? The meaning can only be that the heliacal rising, not the *visible rising*, of Canopus occurred on that particular day. John Bentley (*Historical View of the Hindu Astronomy*, 1825, pp. 162-3) has explained clearly how to determine the day on which the heliacal rising of Canopus occurs at Ujjain. It is, therefore, worth quoting here. "Take a celestial globe, in which the stars are correctly laid down, and rectify it for the latitude of Ujjain $23^{\circ}11'$ N., bring the star Canopus to the eastern horizon, and mark the point on the ecliptic then in the horizon, with its distance from some fixed star east or west of it, lying in or near the ecliptic; this will be cosmical point, and its longitude in the Hindu sphere, will be known from its distance in degrees east or west of the star. Measure 10° towards the east, perpendicular to the horizon, and mark the point where it falls on the ecliptic, in respect to its distance east or west of some fixed star whose longitude is given in the Hindu sphere, this will be the heliacal point, and its longitude in the Hindu sphere will be known from its distance east or west of the star. Thus, the globe being rectified for the latitude, and the star Canopus brought to the eastern horizon, the point of the ecliptic then on the horizon will be found to be about $10^{\circ}56'$ west of Regulus (Maghā), whose longitude in the Hindu sphere is $4^{\circ}.9^{\circ}$; consequently the longitude of the cosmical point in the Hindu sphere is $4^{\circ}.9^{\circ} - 10^{\circ}56' = 3^{\circ}28'4''$; now measuring $10\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ perpendicular to the horizon towards the east, as directed, the point will fall on the ecliptic about 20° to the west of Regulus; therefore the longitude of this point in the Hindu sphere is $4^{\circ}.9^{\circ} - 0^{\circ}20' = 4^{\circ}.8^{\circ}40'$, to which the sun must invariably come at the heliacal rising of Canopus at Ujjain. The Hindu sphere being sidereal, and consequently fixed, the cosmical and heliacal points thus shown, are also nearly fixed, they were so in the time of Varāha, and they are the same now. But it is far otherwise, in the moveable or tropical sphere, in which the variation is considerable, the longitude of the cosmical and heliacal points increasing as the time is more modern". From the above, it will be seen that the heliacal rising of Canopus takes place invariably, when the Sun's longitude is $128^{\circ}40'$. We can arrive at the same result by the methods of Hindu astro-

nomy. The rule on the subject as given by Varāhamihira (*Pañca-Siddhāntikā*, Ch. 14, st. 39-40) is:—Multiply 25 by $\frac{1}{4}$ the equinoctial shadow; take the corresponding arc, add 15, multiply by 10 and add 21 times the equinoctial shadow; the result are the *vinādis*, by which calculate the *Iagna* from the beginning of Karkaṭaka; when the Sun stands at that point, Agastya becomes visible in the south. Calculating by this method, Varāha arrives at 143° as the Sun's longitude, when Agastya becomes visible.

(संख्याविभानात् प्रतिदैशमस्य विशेषं संदर्भनमादित्येष्वः ।

ततो जयिन्यामगतस्य कथ्या मार्गे: स्वराख्यैः स्फुटमास्करस्य ॥

Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, ch. 12, st. 14)

From the rule given by him, it is seen that the distance of visibility is 15° ; so that, according to Varāha, the heliacal rising of Canopus took place, when the sun's longitude was $143^\circ - 150^\circ = 128^\circ$, which is almost the same as that given by Bentley. The sun's longitude (129°) given by the words *aṅgi nyār nṛpa* is thus seen to be confirmed by the mention of the heliacal rising of Canopus.

The closing lines state that heavy showers fell on the high Sahya Mountain in accordance with the custom that the rains come after late summer. Mr. Svāmikāṇu Pillai has understood this to mean that the rainy season has just begun, and therefore takes the time of the occurrence to be about the 90th solar day. But that this was not the author's meaning will be clear from the position of the sun as stated by him, and from his reference to the heliacal rising of Agastya. Varāha says that the waters become clear at the heliacal rising of Agastya (उदये च सुनेत्रगल्लनामः पुनरवृनि भवन्ति निर्मलानि । *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā*, Ch. 12, St. 7); and Varāha's statement is confirmed by Kālidāsa (प्रसादोदवादम्भः कुम्भवोग्नेऽहीजसः—*Raghu-vanīśa*, iv, 21). Mallinātha, in his commentary on the *Raghu-vanīśa*, also says:—⁴ अगस्त्योदये जलानि प्रसीदन्ति इत्याबमः । The waters become clear only about one month after the rains have begun. For this reason also, the solar day must be long after the 90th preferred by Mr. Svāmikāṇu Pillai. We may, therefore, take it as certain that the sun's longitude was 129° , and the solar day was consequently the 135th.

The required actual positions of the major planets are:—Mars 0° to 30° , Jupiter 330° to 0° , and Saturn 270° to 300° . Their corresponding mean longitudes on the 135th solar day are:—Mars 325° to 341° , Jupiter 328° to 351° and Saturn 278° to 308° . The mean positions of these planets on the 135th solar day of

I.B.C. were:—Mars 325° , Jupiter 174° and Saturn 75° . The required increases in their mean longitudes are therefore:—Mars 0° to 16° , Jupiter 154° to 177° and Saturn 203° to 233° . Calculating with the tables in Mr. Svāmikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. 1, Pt. 1) for the years between 1 A. C. and 700 A. C. these increases are found in only one year 17 A. C., Mars 14° , Jupiter 156° and Saturn 208° . In 17 A. C. the Śrāvana Paurṇami fell on the 27th July, and the *tithi* ended 7 hours and 12 minutes after mean sunrise, that is, about 1-12 P. M. The solar month of Āvāṇī began in that year on the 18th July, and 27th July was therefore the 10th Āvāṇī and 135th solar day. The sun's longitude was exactly 129° , as required by the text, and the longitude of Rāhu was 315° . The distance of the sun from the node was thus 174° ; and a lunar eclipse was, therefore, certain to have occurred on that day. The sun's longitude being 129° , the heliacal rising of Agastya must have also occurred on the same day. In fact the coincidence of lunar eclipse and Agastyodaya on the same day is very unique, and it actually took place in 17 A. C. as required by the text. On the 27th July 17 A. C. at day-break, the true longitude of Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were respectively 28° , 332° and 274° , that is, they were all exactly in their required positions. But the true longitudes of Venus and Mercury at the time were 90° and 156° , i.e., 30° and 66° in advance of the required positions. The truth seems to be, as I have suggested, that the poet could not get the true positions of Venus and Mercury, as the Hindus at that period had not yet learned to calculate them correctly. But, finding that the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were all in their own houses (*Svākṣetras*), he apparently supposed that Venus and Mercury were likewise in their own houses Rāshba and Mithuna. In making this supposition he may possibly have been influenced by an astrological notion, for which I cannot find any authority at present, that the location of all the planets in their own houses is an indication of heavy rains. The poet was certainly aware of *Svākṣetras*, as he says that Jupiter was beyond the two houses of Saturn. It is thus seen that the 27th July 17 A. C. completely satisfies all the astronomically possible data of the text; and as no other date from 1 A. C. to 700 A. C. suits the given data even approximately, we have no option but to conclude that the 11th *Paripādal* was actually composed in 17 A. C., and that all dates for the Saṅgham age later than the early centuries of the Christian era must be given up.

॥ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता श्रीमद्भागवतं च ॥

वे. राधवः

वंशीगानसुधां निपीय पश्वः प्रेमामृतं गोपिकाः
बद्दैतासुतमहुनो बदधरात् प्रापुः परा निष्ठृतिः ।
वेदं वेदविदश्च विज्ञिमपि यत्वाति सम तच्छयामलं
मेदौषावधि सामरस्यशिखरं धामाहमारावये ॥ (मैव)

योऽन्तः प्रविश्य मम वाचमिमां प्रसुप्तां
सखीवयत्यखिलशक्तिधरः स्वधामा ।
अन्यांश्च हस्तचरणश्रवणत्वगादीन्
प्राणान्नमो भगवते पुरुषाय तस्मै ॥ (भागवते प्रवस्तुतौ)

नमः सदभ्यः सभ्येभ्यः सभ्यापतिभ्यश्च । अतीव कृतज्ञोऽस्मि
अथ संस्कृतसेवासमितिनिर्वाहकसमितेः, यद्य प्रवर्तमानायां भगवत्सेवायाम्
अन्वेतुं ममापि लघ्बोऽवकाशः । किं तु प्रैदैर्वाग्निभिर्विद्विरेव
निर्वोद्धुं शक्येऽस्मिन् कायेण अन्तःकृष्यमाणजिह्वः कोऽप्यपूर्वे एव
अन्तर्वाणिरहं मूकमपि वाचालीकुर्वतीं भगवतो दयामालस्य प्रवृत्तः,

‘सिद्ध्यन्ति कर्मसु महत्स्वपि वज्रियोज्याः
सम्भावनासूणमवेदि तमीश्वराणाम्’ ।

इति कविसूक्तेः निर्दर्शनायमानः, यत्किञ्चिद्य वदामि । ‘कोण-
कोणक्षेविन्द॑’ इति द्रविडाभाणकानुसारेण अनेनापि मदीयवाम्यज्ञेन
असम्पन्नेनापि भगवान् सर्वात्मकः सर्वयज्ञभुक् श्रीयेतेति विश्वसिमि ।

वैयासिकिना शुकवस्त्रणा राज्ञे परिक्षिते, यथा परमात्मना भगवतैव
प्रजापतये वस्त्रणे गीतम्, तथैव गीतम्, अत एव ‘भगवता प्रोक्तं भागवतम्’
इति व्याख्यातमिः निरुक्ते भागवतं नाम पुराणं मयि पठाति, तदा

* मद्रपुरीसंस्कृतसेवासमितिवार्षिकभगवहीनामहोत्सवावसरे उपन्यस्तोऽयं सन्दर्भः ।

तदा स्मृतिपर्यं आदरुहुः मगवतैव स्वसुहृदे मक्ताय अर्जुनाय कुरुक्षेने
सहायामसुखे उपदिश्या गीताया अभिप्रायाः । तत्र तत्र तास्ताः
भागवतीर्णिताः स्मारितोऽमवम् । इदं प्रत्यभाच, तत्र तत्र गीतासन्दर्भान्
मनसि निधायैव भागवते तत्त्वान्निरूपितमिति । एवं च रुचिरेष्वते स्म
भागवतपुराणे ; गीतानुसन्धानेन सह पठ्यमाने तस्मिन् पुराणे कोऽप्यपूर्व
एवानुभवः समभूत् । तथानुभूतानेशान् कांशनात्र अभिरूपाणां
भवतां पुरतः उपन्यसितुमिच्छामि ।

योगशास्त्रतया वर्ण्यमानासु गीतासु कर्मभक्तिज्ञानास्यास्त्रयो
योगाः प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । ताथ गीता उपनिषदां सारतया वर्णिताः । तथैव
अस्मिन् भागवतपुराणे च श्रयोऽपि योगाः सप्रपञ्चं निरूप्यन्ते ; भागवतं
च ब्रह्मसूत्राणाम् वर्धतया वेदार्थतया च गरुडपुराणे वर्णयते ।

‘नैष्कर्म्यमप्यच्युतमाववार्जितं न शोभते ज्ञानमलं निरञ्जनम् ।’

इत्यादिसन्दर्भैः उपक्रमे उपसंहारे च दृश्यमानैः, यथा पि
भागवतपुराणे कर्मज्ञानयोगापेक्षया भक्तेरेव पारम्ये प्रतिपादितम्,
यथापि चेदं पुराणं भक्तिमालमध्ये पृथक् प्रस्थानतया प्रवर्तितम्,
तथापि भागवतवर्ण्यमानभक्तेः ज्ञानस्य कर्मणश्च नैव परस्परं विरोधः
कोऽपि वर्तते । कर्मयोगिनः किं लक्षणम् ? भक्तो भागवतः कथं
वर्तते ? ज्ञनिनश्च किं स्वरूपम् ? इति बहुत्र भागवते निरूपितम् । तत्र
नैतेषां त्रयाणामपि कोऽपि मिथो रूपमेदो गुणमेदो वा विलोक्यते ।
समुदितो योगरूप एक एव वर्तत इति मन्ये । यथा च गीतासु
पञ्चमेऽध्याये—

‘साङ्ख्ययोगौ पृथग्भालाः प्रवदन्ति न पण्डिताः ।’

‘एकं साङ्ख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ।’
इत्युक्तम्, तथैवैकं कर्म, ज्ञानम्, भक्ति च यः पश्यति, स पश्यति,
स एव विषयित् । अत एव भागवतपुराणवस्तुसङ्ग्रहक्षोक्ते च दृश्यते—

‘यत्र ज्ञानविरागभक्तिसहितं नैष्कर्म्यमाविष्कृतम्’

इति । भागवते तृतीयस्कन्धे पञ्चविंशेऽध्याये (छो०. १३, १४, १८,

२३, ४१) भगवदवतारमूलेन कपिलेन स्वभातुर्देवहृत्या ज्ञानोपदेशः क्रियते । तत्र च भगवता कपिलेन साहस्र्यं भक्तिश्च पर्यायतया प्रयुज्यते ।

‘तत्त्वाज्ञाय यत् प्रवदन्ति साहस्र्यं
प्रोवाच वै भक्तिवितानयोगम् ।’ (३९)

इति । पुनश्चैवम् अत्रैव समन्वयः क्रियते भक्तिज्ञानयोः । आह भगवान् ब्रह्मणे—

‘अहमात्मात्मनां धातः प्रेषुः सन् प्रेवसामपि ।
अतो मधि रति कुर्यादेहादिर्यकृते प्रियः ॥’ ३. ९. ४२.

मागवते प्रवर्तिता अत्युत्तमत्वेन च स्तुता भक्तिः कीदृशी १ मातरं देवहृती-
माह भगवान् कपिलः (३. २९. २१-२७) :

‘अहं सर्वेषु भूतेषु भूतस्मावस्थितः सदा
तमवज्ञाय मां मर्त्यः कुरुतेऽर्चाविद्वनम् ॥
यो मां सर्वेषु भूतेषु सन्तमात्मानभीष्मरम् ।
हित्वाचाँ भजते मौल्याद्वस्मन्येव ज्ञाहोति सः ॥
द्विषतः परकाये मां मानिनो भिज्ञदर्शिनः ।
भूतेषु बद्धैरस्य न मनः ज्ञानितसुच्छति ॥
अहमुक्तावचैद्रिव्यैः क्रिययोत्पत्त्वानये ।
नैव तु व्येऽर्चितेऽर्चायां भूतग्रामावमानिनः ॥
अर्चायामर्चयेतावदीश्वरं मां स्वर्कर्मकृत् ।
यावज्ञ वेद स्वहृदि सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थितम् ॥
आत्मनश्च परस्यापि यः करोत्पन्तरोदरम् ।
तस्य भिज्ञदशो सृत्युर्विद्वे भयमुत्पत्तिस् ॥
अथ मां सर्वभूतेषु भूतात्मानं कृतालयम् ।
अर्हयेद्वानमानाभ्यां भैश्याभिज्ञेन चक्षुषा ॥’

किं भक्तः उत ज्ञानी प्रह्लादः ? वस्य विचारस्यैवात्र नावकणः । स चैव
वर्णयते (७. ४. ३१)—

‘आत्मवत् सर्वभूतानां एकः प्रियसुहृत्तमः ।’

‘नोद्दिभाचित्तो व्यसनेषु, निस्पृहः श्रुतेषु दृष्टेषु गुणेष्ववस्तुद्वक् ।’

सर्वभूतान्तस्यं मगवन्तं बहुमानयन् भागवतो मवति, भक्तो मवति ।
इदमेव विभूतियोगस्य रहस्यम्, यत् कपिलेन देवहूत्यै प्रदर्शयेते—

‘मनसैतानि भूतानि प्रणमेद्दहुमानयन् ।

ईश्वरो जीवकलया प्रविष्टो भगवानिति ॥’ ३. २९. ३३.

एकादशे च स्कन्धे उद्धवप्रक्षानुरोधेन मगवता साधोर्लेखणम्, मुक्तस्य
स्वरूपम्, भागवतस्य गुणात्म वर्ण्यन्ते । एतेषां परस्परं न केवलं नास्त्येव
विरोधः, परं चास्ति सर्वप्रकारकः संवादः । गीतासु इवमानेन
स्थितप्रज्ञवर्णनेन च संवादो भूयसा भाति ।

मुक्तलक्षणं भगवते (११. ११)—

‘इन्द्रियैरिन्द्रियार्थेषु गुणेरपि गुणेषु च ।

गृह्णामाणेष्वहृक्यार्थं विद्वान् यस्त्वविक्रियः ॥

* * *

वैशारदेष्वयासंगशितया छिन्नसंशयः ।

प्रतिकुद्ध इव स्वमात्रानास्वाद्विनिवर्तते ॥

यस्य स्युर्वीतसङ्कल्पाः प्राणेन्द्रियमनोधियाम् ।

वृत्तयः स विनिर्मुक्तो देहस्थोऽपि हि तदगुणैः ॥

यस्यात्मा हिंस्यते हिंत्यैर्येन किञ्चिद्वर्जया ।

अच्युते वा कचित्तत्र न च्यतिक्रियते तुधः ॥

न स्तुवीत न निन्देत कुर्वतः साध्वसाधु वा ।

वदतो गुणदोषात्मां वर्जितः समदृश्युनिः ॥

* * *

मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि निरपेक्षः समाचर ।

* * *

मदये धर्मकामार्थानाचरन् मदपात्रयः ।

लभेत निश्चलां भक्तिं मध्युद्धव सनातने ॥’

अत्रैव साधुरेवं कृष्णोन लक्ष्यते—

‘कृपालुरकृतद्रोहस्तिक्षुः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
 सत्यसारोऽनवद्यात्मा समः सर्वोपकारकः ॥
 कामैरहतधीदर्जन्तो मृदुः शुचिरकिञ्चनः ।
 अनीहो मितभुक् शान्तः स्थिरो मच्छरणो गुनिः ॥
 अप्रमत्तो गमीरात्मा धृतिमान् जितपद्मगुणः ।
 अमानी मानदः कल्पः मैत्रः कारणिकः कविः ॥’

भागवतवर्णनं भागवते ११-२:

‘सर्वभूतेषु यः परयेद्गवद्वावमात्मनः ।
 भूतानि भगवत्यात्मन्येव भागवतोत्तमः ॥
 गृहीत्वापीन्द्रियैरथान् यो न हौष्टि न हृष्ट्यति ।
 विष्णोर्मार्यामिदं पश्यन् स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥

* * *

न कामकर्मचीजानां यस्य चेतसि संभवः ।
 वासुदेवैकनिलयः स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥
 न यस्य जन्मकर्मभ्यां न वर्णाश्रमजातिभिः ।
 सज्जातेऽस्मिन्नाहंभावो देहे वै स हरेः प्रियः ॥
 न यस्य स्वः पर इति वितेष्वात्मनि वा भिदा ।
 सर्वभूतसमः शान्तः स वै भागवतोत्तमः ॥’

मुनिलक्षणं भागवते ११. C. ५-६:

‘मुनिः प्रसन्नगम्भीरो दुर्विगाह्यो दुरत्ययः ।
 अनन्तपारो द्वाक्षोभ्यः स्तिमितोद इर्वाणवः ॥
 समृद्धकामो हीनो वा नारायणपरो मुनिः ।
 नोत्सर्वेत न शुष्ट्येत सरिद्विरिव सागरः ॥’

गीतासु च योगीति, भक्त इति, स्थितप्रब्ज इति तत्र तत्र यानि वर्णनानि वर्तन्ते, तैः सहामीषां संवादः स्फुट एव सहृदयानाम् । यतो नास्त्येव कोऽपि विरोधो भक्तिज्ञानयोः, तत एव भागवतवस्तुसद्ग्रहणोके च द्वितीयपादे गीयते—

“यस्मिन् पारमहंस्यमेकममलं ज्ञानं परं गीयते” इति ।

(१) इतश्च—भगवतं नाम पुराणं भगवता कृष्णदैषायनेन पुराणान्तरे तु सिमलभमानेन, विश्विष्य भगवन्तभेकमेव नायकतयावलम्ब्य, तद्गुणवर्णनेकलोमेन, तस्य भगवतो विचित्राणि दिव्यानि यानि जन्मानि कर्माणि च तान्यनुसन्धातुमनुभवितुं च सन्देशम् ।

‘यस्यावतारो भूतानां श्वेमाय च मवाय च ।’

‘अथारुयाहि हरेर्धमिश्रवतारकया: शुभाः ।

लीला विदधतः स्वैरमीश्वरस्यात्ममायया ॥’ १. १. १८.

‘अवतारा द्वासंख्येया हरे: सत्त्वनिषेद्दिंजाः ।’ १. ३. २६.

‘जन्मकर्माभिधानानि सन्ति मेऽहं सहस्राः ।

न शक्यते नुसन्धातुमनन्तत्वान्मयापि हि ॥

कचिद्रजासि विममे गार्थिवान्युरुजन्मभिः ।

गुणकर्माभिधानानि न मे जन्मानि कर्हिचित् ॥’

१०. उत्तर. १. २७-३८.

‘कृष्णो मनवो देवा मनुपुत्रा महीजसः ।

कलास्सवें हरेरेव सप्रजापतयस्तथा ॥’ १. ३. २७.

इति विष्णोर्वीर्याणि प्रवक्तुमेव प्रारम्भत । एवं च सर्वेभैतद्वागवतपुराणं विभूतियोगाध्यायस्य विस्तरः । गीतासु चतुर्येऽध्याये—

‘अपरं भवतो जन्म परं जन्म विवस्वतः ।

कथमेतद्विजानीयां त्वमादौ प्रोक्तवानिति ॥’

इत्यर्जुनप्रश्नस्योत्तरभूतानाम्

‘घृहनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि— ।’

‘अजोऽपि सन्नद्यवात्मा भूतानामीश्वरोऽपि सन् ।

प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय संभवाद्यात्ममायया ॥’

‘यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य०’ ‘परिश्राणाय साधूनाम्०’

‘जन्म कर्म च मे दिव्यमेवं यो वेति तत्त्वतः०’ ।

इत्यादि गीतानां सूत्रभूतानां मन्ये माध्यमिव भगवतं नाम पुराणम् ।

(२) गीतास्वष्टमेऽध्याये अभ्यासयोगनामक इदमुच्चते—
 'प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन भक्त्या शुक्लो बोगबलेन चैव ।
 अर्वोर्मध्ये प्राणमावेद्य सम्यक् स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥' १०.
 'अन्तकाले च मामेम स्मरन् मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् ।
 यः प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥
 यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम् ।
 तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावमावितः ॥' ४-५. इति ।

अवमेवाभिप्रायो भागवतपुराणावतारमूलमूलतया वर्तते । अमुमेवाशय-
 मुरीकृत्य शुकवद्वाणा सर्पदेशेन सञ्जिहितमूल्योः परीक्षितो भगवत्कथा:
 भगवत्स्वरूपगुणकर्माणि च गीतानि भागवतपुराणरूपेण । मरिष्यन्तं
 परीक्षितं तमभ्यागतः शुकाचार्यः कथयति—

'जन्मलाभः परः पुंसामन्ते नारायणस्मृतिः ॥' २. १. ६.
 अस्मिन्नेवाध्याये (२. १.) अयं विषयः विस्तरेण निरूप्यते ।

'प्रयाणकाले च कर्यं ज्ञेयोऽसि नियतात्मभिः ।'
 इत्यज्ञेनप्रश्नस्याष्टमेऽध्याये गीतासु सङ्ग्रहेणोत्तरं वर्तते । अत्र तु
 भगवते द्वितीयस्कन्धप्रथमद्वितीयाध्याययोर्विस्तरेणोत्तरं वर्तते ।
 द्वितीयाध्यायान्ते च 'एते सृती ते नृप वेदगीते' इत्यारम्भ, 'नैते
 सृती पार्थं जानन् योगी मुद्घति कश्चन' इति गीताष्टमाध्यायान्ते वर्णिते
 देववानपितृयाने भगवते प्रपञ्च्यते । सप्तमस्कन्धे च पञ्चदग्माध्याये
 प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्ती, बाहृत्यनावृत्ती, पितृयानदेवयाने च पुनर्भुवने निरूपिते
 हरयेते । अस्मिन्नाष्टम एवाध्याये गीताचार्येण यदुक्तम्—

'आवृष्टमुवनालोकः पुनरावर्तिनोऽज्ञेन ।
 मासुपेत्य तु कौन्तेय पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥' (१६)

इति । तदेवेत्यं प्रतिष्ठनिरिव भगवते श्रूयते—

'कर्मणां परिणामित्वादाविरिच्छादमङ्गलम् ।
 विपश्चिन्नश्चरं पद्येदहृष्टमपि दृष्टवत् ॥' ११, १९, १८.

इति । 'प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन' इति श्लोके यदर्जनाय भगवताभ्यधायि

तदेवोद्धवेन कृष्णविरहसन्तप्यमानाभ्यो गोपिकाभ्योऽभिर्धीयते, दशमे,
पूर्वार्थे, ४६ अध्याये—

'अस्मिन् जनः प्राणविद्योगकले क्षणं समावेश्य मनो विशुद्धम् ।
निर्दृत्य कर्माशयमाशु याति परां गतिं वशमयोऽर्कवर्णः ॥'

(३). सुदृपराह्मसुखाय निर्विण्णायार्हुनाय दिव्यं ज्ञानं दत्त्वा
भगवान् तं योद्धुं नियोजयति । तदेव दिव्यं ज्ञानं दत्त्वा भागवते
चतुर्थे स्कन्धे (अध्या० २०) राजानं पृथुमिन्द्रं मामिषेषयेति निवारयति ।

कथं पितृभिः पितामहैः गुरुभिः बन्धुभिः सह युध्यताम् इत्येव
एव धर्मसंमोहो गीताभिः विचार्यं निराकियते । भगवते तु तद्रीत्यैव
मनुष्यस्य अस्मिन् संसारे यावन्तो यादशाः कृष्ण मनोर्धैर्यलुण्टाकाः
मोहकलिलोत्पादका अनुभवा भवेत् तावतः सर्वानपि विविधासु कथासु
निरूप्य सर्वेषु व्यसनेषु च धर्म्यः क्षेमाय कल्पमानश्च पन्थाः निरूप्यते ।
प्रियपुत्रमरणम्, शापः, प्रियविरहः, स्वमरणं इत्याश्वसरेषु मुख्यमानस्य
तप्यमानस्य पुंसो मनश्शमो यथा जायेत, तथा भगवते अनेकैः सन्दर्भे-
रूपदिश्यते ।

दिव्यं ज्ञानं च प्रत्यध्यायं ततदवसरानुसारेण ततदधिकारिणे
दीयते—द्वितीये स्कन्धे भगवानेव ब्रह्मण उपदिश्यति । तृतीये कपिलो
देवहृत्यै । चतुर्थे भगवानेव राजे पृथवे । चतुर्थं एव प्राचीनवर्हिषः
कुमारेभ्यो रुद्रः । तत्रैव प्राचीनवर्हिष एव ज्ञानात् कर्म अवरमिति
ज्ञानपारम्यमुपदिश्यते । पञ्चमे ब्रह्मा प्रियव्रताय प्रियव्रतसदृशज्ञानिनो
गृहाश्रमो नैव बन्धाय कल्पेतेति कर्मयोगं कथयति । पञ्चम एव ऋषभ-
स्वरूपेण अवतीर्यं भगवान् ज्ञानमार्गं विशद्यति, आचरणेन, उपदेशेन च ।
तदनन्तरं च जडभरतवृत्तान्तः, यत्र च ज्ञानयोगः पूर्णतया प्रतिषादितः ।
राजे रहूगणायात्रैव जडभरतो ज्ञानमुपदिश्यति । षष्ठे च वृत्रवृत्तान्तः सर्वं
एव सारमूतः स्वदते नितराम् । पुत्रमरणद्वाकार्पण्येन लालप्यमानं चित्र-
केतुमत्र नारदोऽङ्गिराश्च समवस्थापयतो ज्ञानोपदेशेन । कामकर्म त्यक्तव्यम्,
आनुश्रविके द्वेषे च ज्ञानप्रतिष्ठेन विरच्य परात्मैकदर्शनं लब्धव्यम् इति

अस्मिन्नेव स्कन्धे भगवतैव चित्रकेतवे प्रतिपाद्यते । पर्वत्या शापे दत्ते,
ज्ञानिना सता चित्रकेतुना अतिरमणीया वाच उत्तरत्वेन दत्ताः ।
किञ्चिदपि अनसूयेन अकुपितेन अदुःखितेन मनसा चित्रकेतुना शापं
प्रतिशृण्हते । सप्तमे च शिशुपालकथाव्याजेन वैषभ्यनैर्गृण्यशङ्कानिरासपूर्वकं
जगति वर्तमानो जीवेषु दद्यमानः असाधुमावः कुत इति निर्धार्यते ।
अस्मिन्नेव सप्तमे प्रह्लादेन सत्रघातारिभ्यः तत्त्वोपदेशः कियते —

‘तस्मात् सर्वेषु भूतेषु दद्यां कुरुत सीहृदम् ।

आत्मुरं भावमुन्मुच्य यथा तुष्ट्यत्यधोक्षजः ॥’ इति ।

ततः परम् अबगरमुनिना परमहंसलक्षणं सप्तम एव वर्णयते । एहस्थः सन्
स्वकर्म कुर्वन् कथं पुमान् मुच्येतेति निर्धार्यते चार्वैव चतुर्दशाध्याये ।
दशमे च विरहातुराभ्यो गोपिकाभ्यः आश्वासकं ज्ञानं सन्देशातया प्रेष्यते ।
उत्तरार्थे च भगवान् कृष्ण एव गोपीभ्यः अध्यात्मशिक्षा ददाति ।
एकादशस्कन्धः सर्व एव विस्तरेण त्रिविभवपि योगं प्रपञ्चयति । एतेषु
चान्येषु स्थलेषु श्रीवति भागवते गीतारूढार्थतात्पर्यविवरणभूताः
बहवोऽर्थाः प्रकटिताः ।

इतश्च (अ) गीतासु वर्णितो यो विश्वरूपः, स सुविस्तरवर्णितो
दद्यते भागवते प्रथमे स्कन्धे तृनीयाध्याये—

‘यस्याबयवसंस्थानैः कल्पितो लोकविस्तरः ।

* * *

पश्यन्त्यदो रूपमद्भ्रचक्षुपा

सहस्रपादोरुसुजाननाद्भुतम् ।

सहस्रमूर्वश्रवणाक्षिनासिकं

सहस्रमौल्यम्बरकुण्डलोलसत् ॥

एतनानावतारणां निदानं चीजमव्ययम् ।

यस्यांशशेन सूज्यन्ते देवतिर्थहनगादयः ॥’ इति ।

(आ) प्रह्लादकथार्यां च, ‘अच्छेदोऽयमगदाद्योऽयम्’ इत्यादिगीता-
वाक्येषु गीयमानब्रह्ममहिमैव, पर्वतात् पतितोऽपि, दर्शोऽपि, इतरथा च

हिंसितोऽपि न रोग्यपि विकृतिभनुचमूर्त्र प्रहृद इति कथाश्चेत्या
वर्णते । 'नित्यः सर्वं गतः आत्मा' इति निरूपणायैव अत्र स्तम्भादपि
परमात्मस्वरूपम् आविर्भावितं कथारूपेण ॥

(इ) मया हता इमे चान्धवा मरिष्यन्ति इति कृपालुगनुत्साहितम्
अर्हुनं येन ज्ञानेन युध्यस्थेति वोधयति भगवान् गीतासु, तेनैव भगवान्
शुक्लं सर्पदेशेन स्वयं मरिष्यन्तं परीक्षितं वोधयति—

'त्वं तु राजन् मरिष्येति पशुबुद्धिमिमां जहि ।
न जातः प्रागभूतोऽथ देहवत्त्वं न नद्यस्यसि ॥
न भविष्यसि भूत्वा त्वं पुत्रपौत्रादिरूपवान् ।'

* * *

घटे भिक्षे यथाकाश आकाशः स्याद्यथापुरा ।
एवं देहे सृते जीवो ब्रह्म संपद्यते पुनः ॥

* * *

सृत्यवो नोपधक्षयन्ति सृत्युनां सृत्युमीश्वरम् ।
अद्वं ब्रह्म परं धाम ब्रह्माहं परमं पदम् ॥
एवं समीक्षाज्ञात्मानमात्मन्याधाय निष्कले ।
दशन्ते तक्षकं पादे लेलिहानं विपानलैः ।
न द्रष्ट्यसि शरीरं च विश्वं च पृथगात्मनः ॥' १२. ५.

इति ।

(ई) गीतासु नवमेऽन्याये इदं इत्यते—
'तपाम्ब्यहमहै वर्षं निरृहुम्बुत्सुजामि च ।
असृतं चैव सृत्युश्च सदसच्चाहमर्जुन ॥' १९.

अस्य तत्त्वस्य विस्तरो भागवते वृत्तासुरवृत्तान्ते शिशुपालकथारम्बे च
इत्यते । पष्ठे स्कन्धे वृत्रेण सह्यामसुखे, 'अवशः अनीशो जीवः, अतः
सुखे दुःखे च समत्वं श्रेयः' इति सुखुत्सुरगत इन्द्र उच्यते । उमया
च दत्ते शापे तेन वृत्रेणोदसुच्यते—

'प्रतिगृह्णामि ते शापं आत्मनोऽश्वलिनाम्बिके ।
कर्तारं मन्यतेऽप्राज्ञ आत्मानं परमेव च ॥

गुणप्रवाह एतस्मिन् कः शापः को न्वनुग्रहः ।
 कः स्वर्गो नरकः को वा किं सुखं दुःखमेव वा ॥
 एकः सूजति भूतानि भगवानात्ममायया ।
 एषां वन्धे च भोक्षं च सुखं दुःखं च निष्कलः ॥
 न तस्य कश्चिद्यितः प्रतीपो न ज्ञातिबन्धुने परो न च स्वः ।
 समस्य सर्वत्र निरञ्जनस्य सुखे न रागः, कुत एव रोपः ॥' ७. २१.
 एवं च ज्ञानिनः तत्त्वावलोकिनः स्वात्मानं पीडयति कर्सिंश्चिदपि
 कोप एव न भवेत् । तस्य नास्त्येव हृदयतापः स्वविपत्तिमन्तरा ॥

किञ्च शब्दतश्च संवादा अनेके गीताभागवतयोर्वर्तन्ते ।—

१. गी० 'प्रज्ञातादांश्च माप्से ।' २. ११.

मा० 'अकोविदः केविदवादवादान् वदस्यथो नातिविदा वरिष्ठः ।
 न सूरयो हि व्यवहारमेनं तत्त्वावभृतेन सहामनन्ति ॥' १. ५. ११.
 इति रहुगणाय राज्ञे जडभरतस्य उक्तिरियम् ।

२. गी० 'शामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यपिष्ठितः ।

वेदवादरताः पार्थं नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥' २. ४२.
 भागवते पञ्चमे जडभरत एवमाह रहुगणम् ।—

'तथैव राजन्तुरुगार्हमेघवितानविद्वोरुविजृम्भतेषु ।

न वेदवादेषु हि तत्त्ववादः प्रायेण शुद्धो तु चकास्ति साधुः' ॥
 ५. ११. २.

षष्ठे यमेनैवसुध्यते—

'प्रायेण वेद तदिदं न महाजनोऽयं

देव्या विमोहितमतिर्बंत माययालम् ।

प्रथ्यां जडीकृतमतिर्मधुपुष्पितायां

वैतानिके महाति कर्मणि युज्यमानः ॥' ६. ३. २५.

एकादशे एकविंशेऽध्याये पुनश्चायमेवाभिप्रायः प्रपञ्च्यते ।

३. गी० 'नेहामिकमनाशोऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते ।' २. ४०.

एतत् प्रतिध्वनयन्निव उद्धवं भगवान् कृष्ण आह एकादशे—

'न व्यङ्गोपकमध्यंसो मद्भर्मस्योद्धवाणपि ।' ११. २९. २०.

४. गी०. २. ४७ः त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निरूप्तेगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।
भा०. पञ्चमे बडभरत आह—

'गुणानुरक्तं व्यसनाय जन्तोः
क्षेमाय नैर्गुण्यमयो मनः स्यात् ।'

५. गी०. २. ६०ः इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाधीनि हरन्ति प्रसर्वं मनः ।
भा०. ७. १२. ७ः इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाधीनि हरन्त्यपि यतेर्वनः ।

६. गी०. २. ६२ः व्यायतो विषयान् पुंसः संगस्तेपूपजायते ।
संगात् सज्जायते कामः कामात् कोषोऽभिजायते ॥
कोधाद्वति संमोहः संमोहात् स्मृतिविप्रमः ।
भा०. ११. २१. १९. २०ः संगात्त्र भवेत्कामः कामदेव कलिर्णाम् ।
कलेद्वैविष्ठः कोषस्तमस्तमनुवर्तते ॥
तमसा प्रस्यते पुंसवेतना व्यापिनी श्रवस् ॥

किञ्च भा०. ११. १३. १०ः ततः कामो गुणव्यानात् ।

७. गी०. २. ५७ः इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुनांवभिवान्मसि ॥
भा०. २२. ३०ः इन्द्रियैर्विषयाकृष्टैराक्षिसं व्यायतां मनः ।
चेतनां हरते त्रुदिः स्तम्भस्तोयमिव हदात् ॥

८. गी०. ३. २८. गुणा गुणेषु वर्तन्ते इति मत्त्वा न सञ्चते ।
,, १४. २३ः गुणा वर्तन्त इत्येव योऽवतिष्ठति नेत्रं ते ।
भागवते च एकादशे कृष्णेन उद्घाव कथिते मुक्तलक्षणे इश्यते—
'इन्द्रियैरिन्द्रियायेषु गुणैरपि गुणेषु च ।
गृह्णमाणेष्वहंकुर्यात् विद्वान् यस्त्वविकियः ॥'

९. गी०. ३. ३०ः मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि सन्न्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ।
निराशीनिर्ममो भूत्वा गुण्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥
भा०. ११. २९. ९ः कुर्यात् सर्वाणि कर्माणि मदर्थं शनकैः स्मरन् ।
मध्यर्पितमनवित्तो मद्भर्मात्ममनोरतिः ॥

१०. गी०. ३. २७ः प्रकृतेः कियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वैशः ।
अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ॥

भा०. ३. २७. २ः स एष यहि प्रकृतेर्गुणेभ्यभिविष्ठते ।
अहंकियाविमूढात्मा कर्तास्मीत्यभिमन्यते ॥

११. गी०. ४. १-३: स कालेनेह महता योगो नष्टः परन्तप ।

भा०. ११. १४. भगवानुद्वेषमाह—

कालेन नष्टा प्रलये वाणीयं वेदसंज्ञिता ।

मयादौ ब्राह्मणे प्रोक्ता धर्मो यस्यां मदात्मकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्ता च पुत्राय मनवे पूर्वजाय च । इत्यादि ।

१२. गी०. ४. ३३: श्रेयान् द्रव्यमयादज्ञात् ज्ञानयज्ञः परन्तप ।

इति ज्ञानयज्ञः प्रशस्यते । ज्ञानयज्ञश्चैव भागवते विश्वरूपम् अन्तर्यामुनं विलोक्य अकूरेण कृते स्तोत्रे वर्णयते—

एके त्वाखिलकर्माणि सन्न्यस्योपशमं गताः ।

ज्ञानिनो ज्ञानयज्ञेन यजन्ति ज्ञानविग्रहम् ॥

१३. गी०. ४. ३७: यथैवांसि समिद्वोऽस्मिर्भस्मसात् कुरुतेऽर्जुन ।

ज्ञानाश्रिः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुते तथा ॥

भा०. ११. १४. १९: यथाश्रिः सुसमिद्वाधिः करोत्येवांसि भस्मसात् ।

तथा महिषया भक्तिरुद्वैनांसि कृत्स्नशः ॥

१४. गीतासु पञ्चमेऽध्याये १८, १९ च श्लोके समत्वं नाम वोग उच्यते—

विद्याविनयसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।

शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदिविनः ॥

इदैव तैर्जितः सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ।

निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद् ब्रह्मणि ते स्थिताः ॥

गीतास्वेव षष्ठे चाध्याये—

सुहन्मित्रार्युदासीनमध्यस्थद्वेष्यवन्धुषु ।

साधुष्वपि च पापेषु समधुद्विविशिष्यते ॥

भागवते तत्र तत्र अतिमनोहरैः सन्दर्भैर्यं समत्वयोगो निरूप्यते ।

विशिष्य, एकादशे भगवदुद्वेषसंवादे भगवानाह—

१५. २९. १३-१६: मामेवं सर्वमूरेषु विहरन्तरपावृतम् ।

ईक्षेतात्मनि चात्मानं यथा खममलाशयः ॥

इति सर्वाणि भूतानि मद्भावेन महाद्युते ।

समाजयन् मन्यमानो ज्ञाने केवलमात्रितः ॥

ब्राह्मणे पुलकसे स्तेने ब्रह्मण्यके स्फुलिङ्गके ।

अकूरे कूरके चैव समद्वक् पण्डितो मतः ॥

नरेष्वभीक्षणं मद्भावं पुस्तो भावयतोऽचिरात् ।
 स्पर्धासूयातिरस्काराः साहंकारा वियन्ति हि ॥
 विमृज्ज्य स्मयमानान् स्वान् दशं वीडा च दैहिकीम् ।
 प्रणमेइष्टवद्भूमौ आश्चचण्डालगोखरम् ॥

१५. गीतासु ५. २९. भगवानात्मानम्—

“सुहदं सर्वभूतानाम्” “न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः”
 इति वर्णयति ।

मायवते च ३. २९. ३९. कपिलो देवहृतीमाह—

न चास्य कश्चिद्दियितो न देष्यो न च बान्धवः ।
 पुनश्च ६. १८. ३३ः न द्वास्यास्ति प्रियः कश्चिच्चाप्रियः स्वः परोऽपि वा ।
 बालत्वात् सर्वभूतानां सर्वभूतप्रियो हृरिः ॥

(अनुवार्ति)

A NOTE ON AN INSCRIBED SEAL FROM PERAK.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

In the Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums Vol. XV, part 3 (1932), Mr. Ivor H. N. Evans, Ethnographer, F. M. S. Museums, reported the discovery of an inscribed Cornelian seal which he described as follows: 'It is a small seal of red Cornelian of good colour and somewhat translucent, chamfered at the edges on the face and there engraved with an inscription running the length of the seal in the middle. The dimensions of the piece are 1.4 cms. \times 1 cm. \times 4 cm. The back is a flat.' The inscription reads *Sri Pippavarmmasya* and the script is clearly of the class to which the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā, Borneo and W. Java belong. The letters are 'box-headed', and remarkably like those in the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campā. This script is usually called Pallava script after Vogel's well-known paper on the Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlavarman. In spite of Professor R. C. Majundar's attempt to fix a northern or central Indian origin for the early Campā script¹, I think the case is still strong for our continuing to use the designation brought into vogue by Vogel's careful examination of the whole question.

But while calling the script Pallava, we should be on our guard against postulating any direct connection, particularly of a political nature, between the areas where the script was in vogue and the line of South Indian rulers after whom the script is named. Mr. Evans writes "Dr. Callenfels remarks, in answer to a letter of mine in which I had pointed out that this name was borne by several Pallava kings. 'It is not necessary that the Viṣṇuvarmman is a Pallava king. Kings and nobles in that time liked to have names ending in Varma, i.e., the kings of Indo-China, Borneo, Java and Sri-Vijaya. I think, however, that the Sri certainly points to a king or a prince.' I had wondered, too, whether it might not be the ring of some commoner bearing an inscription with a talismanic significance". There is no one among the known kings of South India or the Malay Archipelago

1. EEFEO, xxxii, pp. 135 ff.

and Indo-China with the name Viṣṇu-Varma. And the faulty grammatical form of the name, Viṣṇuvarmimasya in the place of Viṣṇuvarmīmāyah, may be taken to support the last surmise of Mr. Evans that it is the seal of a commoner, possibly a merchant. There is no lack of evidence to show that the artisans and traders of ancient times often affected the Sanskrit idiom and were not very mindful of classical grammar in the dialect they employed. One wonders why Mr. Evans suggests a talismanic significance for the inscription on the stone? Is it because of the *Srī* at the commencement? But *Srī* is at once an honorific prefix and a symbol of prosperity and is generally employed as a prefix to personal names. I am inclined to suggest that the ring which bore this inscribed Cornelian was just the signet ring of a merchant called Viṣṇutarma. The best opinion regarding the age of the seal puts it nearer the sixth century A. D. than the fourth, though the earlier date is not an impossibility¹.

I have had occasion elsewhere to draw attention to other evidence on trade relations between South India and the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal². But such relations were by no means the monopoly of South India, and it may be doubted if a South Indian merchant would have used a signet engraved in these characters as we have so far not come across another instance of this kind. It is perhaps worth noting in this connection that among some ancient gems and seals noticed by Cunningham in 1841, we find a Chaceldonic agate from Ujjain inscribed in characters very similar to those of our seal³. The inscription was read by Prinsep as *Srī Vati-Khuddasya*, Seal of *Srī Vati-Khudd*. That reading is open to doubt at more than one point; I am inclined to read *Srī Va (tikha) ḡasaya*. But the forms of the letters *Srī*, *Va*, and *za* bear the closest possible resemblances to those of the same letters in our seal. Viṣṇu-varma then, if as we suppose he was a merchant, might have come from Central India, or he might have been one of the colonists belonging to the Hindu settlement of Kuala Selingsing in Perak whose long history from about 600 A. D., if not earlier, is attested by the remains brought to light by Mr. Evans.

1. JFMS. *ibid*, p. 90.

2. JOR. vi, pp. 299 ff.

3. JASB. 1841, plate opp. p. 148, No. 19.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

BRHATI OF PRABHAKARA MISRA WITH THE RŪ-VIMALA-PĀNCIKA OF ŚALIKANATHA: (TARKA-PĀDA). EDITED BY S. K. RAMA-NATHA SASTRI, JUNIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, 1934. Price Rs. 5. Foreign 8s.

The aphorisms of Jaimini are in 12 Chapters, which are divided into 60 sub-sections or *pādas* as they are called. The whole work, excepting the first *pāda* alone, deals with the principles of Vedic interpretation or with the details of sacrificial ritual; and its philosophic significance, where it has any, is quite indirect. The first sub-section, which is known as the *Tarka-pāda*, is solely devoted to a consideration of Mimāṃsā epistemology; and it necessarily contains, by implication, a view of Mimāṃsā ontology also. The practice of *pāṇḍitas* has, for long, been to give much less attention to this section than its subject-matter seems to us to demand, and to be content with a study of only the remaining portions of the work. Even later commentators, as a rule, omit to explain it. This attitude of orthodox scholars towards the Mimāṃsā as a philosophic doctrine is, however, far from unintelligible. They are staunch adherents of a different school of philosophy, viz., the Vedānta which has its own definite world-view; and they naturally do not like to waste their time and energy in learning a system which, though claiming to be based on the Veda like the Vedānta, diverges from it in more than one essential respect. Their point of view only furnishes another proof of the well-known fact that the interest of the Indians in philosophy has never been merely theoretic. The sacrificial teaching of the Mimāṃsā has not been disregarded in the same manner, because the performance of Vedic ritual is considered to be a necessary part of the training of a Vedāntin. Though this may explain the attitude of *pāṇḍitas* towards Mimāṃsā as a *darśana*, the neglect into which the study of the *Tarka-pāda* has, as a consequence, fallen for so long a time is unfortunate from the standpoint of the modern student who is interested in philosophic views as such or in the history of Indian thought as a whole. For it has led not only to a break in the traditional interpretation of the philo-

sophic side of the system but also to the loss or disappearance of much of the literature bearing upon it. The loss is far greater in the case of the Prabhākara school of Mīmāṃsā than in that of the Bhāṭṭa school, as will be seen from the fact that not more than two or three works belonging to it were hitherto familiarly known. It is the primary source of authority in regard to this school, viz., Prabhākara's commentary on the *bhāṣya* of Śabara relating to the neglected *pāda* that is now published; and students of Indian philosophy cannot feel sufficiently grateful to the editor for having undertaken this important work and for having accomplished it so successfully.

The present volume includes, in addition to this commentary which is known as the *Bṛhātī*, the *Rjñ-vīmaṇa-pāñcikā*, a gloss on it by Śālikanātha who is reputed to have been Prabhākara's direct disciple. It also contains a reprint of the *sūtras* of Jaimini as well as the *bhāṣya* of Śabara; and the several texts and commentaries are given here concurrently so that reference to them is rendered quite easy. Prabhākara's style resembles that of old masters like Patañjali and Śabara, and is conversational in its form. Though the language is simple, it is often difficult to follow the argument couched in it; but Śālikanātha's gloss, together with the careful punctuation introduced by the editor, greatly assists the understanding of the work. The amount of resolute labour required for editing such difficult works from old manuscripts is always great; and it should have been considerably greater in the present case, because only one manuscript of the *Bṛhātī* could be procured. The editor was, however, fortunate in securing four copies of the commentary on it; and they should have been of immense service to him in determining the correct form of the text where its manuscript was imperfect. In this difficult task the editor has received, as he gracefully acknowledges in the Preface, much help from Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriyar of the Presidency College, Madras, whose unrivalled scholarship in the *darśanas* in general and Mīmāṃsā in particular, is a sufficient guarantee that the textual problems, which arose in the course of editing the work, have been satisfactorily solved.

The Prabhākara school has several characteristic doctrines, like the one, for example, which is known as *ak्षyāti-vāda*. The most important of them, which is also perhaps the least understood now, is the doctrine of *niyoga* or 'Vedic mandate'; and it

is treated of at length in the present publication. The work also contains side references to other points of historical or doctrinal importance like the *abda-brahma-vāda* of the grammarians (p. 160) and the views of Buddhist thinkers like Diññāga and Dharmakīrti (e.g. pp. 87, 53). The editor does not propose to continue the printing of the remaining portions of the *Bṛhatī*; but he promises that a supplementary volume will be issued containing the *Bhāṣya-pariśiṣṭa* of Śālikanātha, which is a direct commentary on the *bhāṣya* of *Sabara*, and an introductory essay in English by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastryar. We eagerly look forward to its publication and expect that it will not only elucidate several points in the Prabhākara doctrine which are now only vaguely understood but will also incidentally light up some at least of the many dark corners in the history of Indian philosophy.

M. H.

THE MATSYA PURANA: A STUDY, BY V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., LECTURER IN INDIAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. BULLETINS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, NO. 5 RE. 1, S. 1/6.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar opened his study of the Purāṇas, a legitimate source of information for the historian of ancient India, with a general survey of the Purāṇas in Vol. VIII of the IHQ. He followed it up with his "Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa" and has given us now his study of the Matsya Purāṇa. The study runs to about 140 pages and discusses in its first four chapters the flood legends, the origin of the Purāṇa, theory of incarnation, the date of the Purāṇa and the Polity and Architecture described in the Purāṇa. It finishes with two useful chapters, the fifth and the sixth, on the indebtedness of the Matsya Purāṇa to the Vāyu Purāṇa and on the Tamil Matsya Purāṇa.

1. The author says on p. 17 that South India was the place of flood; the arguments are few and naive. Details of the flood-story which contradict this conclusion are conveniently overlooked. Here he gives R. V. III. 24.3 mentioning "four tribes sprung from Manu" as additional proof! The probable identity between the Vedic "Pañcājana" and "Pañcakṣiti" and the five-fold division of the country in Tamil literature has been suggested by P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar and R. Raghuva Ayyangar;

but Dikshitar neither cites the text, nor collects the several texts mentioning "Pāñcājana" and "Pāñcakṣiti"; he does not discuss the question at all. Above all, his reference to Rg Veda 11. 24.3 is wrong; it should be Atharva Veda III. 24.3; and, it might be added for Dikshitar's information that the Rg Veda itself refers to the "five peoples" at least six times in Mandalas I, 7 & 10.

2. Discussing the origin of the Purāṇa, the author digresses into an account of the Matsya tribe and the Matsyadeśa and opines that the fish-flood-legends were "cultivated" (p. 23) by the Matsyas! Comment is needless.

3. The author thinks that on pp. 23-4, he has proved the South Indian nativity of the Matsya Purāṇa. Its South Indian origin is not as plain as that of the Bhāgavata. On p. 24, the author makes the convenient remark that the Purāṇa is *full of* references to South India, which remark he has not substantiated; nor can the text of the Purāṇa justify it. Leaving other evidences to the contrary in the Purāṇa, we would like to draw Dikshitar's attention to Matsya XVI, 16, where, as a contrast to the Bhāgavata, which expressly glorifies the Dravidadeśa and its people, the Matsya brings the Dravidas, Uḍras, Āndhras and Koṅkans under Mleechas, whose sight must be avoided during Śrāddha time. From other parts of the author's study also, it is plain that the author, easily and naturally, ignores texts of importance.

4. Ch. I, section 3 of the study is mostly a digression; it explains or tries to explain 'Daśavatārs' in the light of the Evolution theory and proclaims Vāmana as the missing link! According to the author's study, Krṣṇa, the Buddha and Kalki mean nothing. In this connection again, the digressing author has little time and space for the contribution of the Matsya to the idea of Avatāra. Noteworthy matter on the subject in Matsya 47 is almost ignored, except for a casual remark on p. 25 which again betrays insufficient understanding of the text.

5. On pp. 42-44, Dikshitar says that Bharata's Nātya Śāstra is referred to in the Matsya Purāṇa and devotes a section of his study to Bharata's Nātya Śāstra. The Purāṇa does not refer to Bharata's Nātya Śāstra. Nor does it contain anything relating to the Vaikhānasa Śūtra, Śukra Nīti and the Liṅgāyat sect. It is impossible to understand how the author is led to see references to these three where they do not exist at all.

6. The author fails to notice what has been plainly said in the Purāṇa. The following are some instances of the serious omissions: Matsya II, 13-14 which mention the Narmadā as the only river which lasts even through the deluge; ch. VIII echoes the Vibhūti-adhyāya of the Gītā; ch. II, 22-24, Matsya's expansion of the 'Pañcalakṣaṇa' definition of Purāṇa; ch. XXIV, 2-3, the statement that Budha is the eponymous author of Elephantology and that the text called "Rājaputriya" quoted in later texts is his work; ch. X, 24-25, mention of Vararuci as a master of Nātya; ch. XIII, 38 which mentions Rādhā, who does not occur even in the Bhāgavata; ch. IV, 19-20 and 23 which presuppose the Brāhmaṇa; ch. CCXXIX 2 which mentions a Vṛddha Garga and his astrological work.

7. It is regrettable that the author should still persist in taking "Vākovākyā" as speech of birds and beasts. Wrong understanding of the text is seen in the two main sections on Polity and Architecture—Eg. the interpretation of Matsya ch. 215, 58-59 on p. 75 of the study, the paragraph on the crown prince on p. 93, and the whole of the matter on the types of Prasādas on pp. 109-110. Regarding ancient Indian Polity, the author makes contradictory statements on pp. 76 and 86. The section on Architecture is scrappy.

8. Important statements are made without references being given to the texts. The study, as a whole, is neither exhaustive nor critical, as carelessly written as it is printed. Not a single Sanskrit text quoted is free from errors. Proof-reading seems to have been done more to observe a custom and the Errata at the end containing only three corrections must be taken by the readers as Upalakṣaṇa.

"SAUTI"

BHĀTTACINTAMANI—A COMMENTARY ON THE BHĀTTADIPĪKA, BY
VĀNCIESVARA, EDITED BY MAHAMĀHOPĀDHYĀYA SASTRA-
NĀNAKĀRA MIMĀMSĀRATNA BRAHMĀSRĪ VENKATASUBRAH-
MĀNYA SASTRI, PRINCIPAL, MADRAS SANSKRIT COLLEGE,
MYLAPORE, MADRAS. Rs. 6/- Printed at the Madras Law
Journal Press, Mylapore Madras, 1934.

The Bhāttadipikā of Khanḍadeva is the most authoritative treatise of recent times in the sphere of the Mimāṃsā of the Bhātta School. Khanḍadeva lived in the early half of the 17th century in Benares and wrote most of his works from there. His

pupil, the famous Śambhu Bhāṭṭa wrote the first commentary on the Bhāṭṭadīpikā; it was followed by the Candrikā of Bhāskarāya. The work under review is the last of the commentaries on the Bhāṭṭadīpikā.

Khaṇḍadeva is reputed to have omitted the Tarkapāda from his work. On the other hand we find Vāñcheśvara commenting on the portion of the Bhāṭṭadīpikā relating to the Tarkapāda. Wherewithal he got that text is not clear. Vāñcheśvara is an erudite scholar; he shows a complete mastery of Śrauta and other śāstras in this scholarly commentary. The portion from the beginning up to the end of the third pāda in the third adhyāya is published in the volume under review. The late Mahāmāhabhāṣyāya Brahmasrī Venkatasubrahmanyasastriar, who edited the work was an authority in Mīmāṃsā. A short account of the life history of the author is found in the introduction. The detailed table of contents, the index of adhikarāṇas, the index of sūtras, the list of adhikarāṇa nyāyas, and the index of quotations will be found very useful. The list of corrections is pretty long, but exhaustive. The book has been neatly printed and attractively got up. We heartily welcome this publication.

T. R. C.

THE GĪTIKĀ METRE IN SANSKRIT

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH,
Mysore.

Three metres, bearing the name Gītikā, are mentioned in the index at the end of Kittel's edition of Nāgavarma's *Canarese Prosody* (or *Chandōmbudhi*). One is a *varṇa-gātā* metre with four pādas following the scheme *na ra ra la ga* (the name of the metre is given as Nitike in the MS, and emended by Kittel into Gītike); the second is a mora metre with pādas containing 12, 18, 12 and 18 mātrās and is the same as the Gīti (sub-division of the Āryā) of Sanskrit prosodists, while the third is a *mīśra-gāyā* metre. It is the third-mentioned metre that concerns us here in this paper.

This metre is defined thus in Nāgavarma's *Chandōmbudhi* (V. 312; p. 114 of Kittel's edition):

erādarol āgembā saṅkhyeyoḥ
bare padma-bhavan uḍidavu meccuva leradim.
dire balik inneraḍu munnin ante
karam esed oppu Gita-gaṇap||

"The Brahmā foot in the second, in the number six, the other (feet) being what one likes; the two (pādas) that follow (are) like the preceding (two); thus is formed the class of metres known as Gītikā".

The number of feet that constitute pādas 1, 2 (or the first half) is not specified; but as it is said that it is the same as that contained in pādas 3, 4 (or second half), an analysis of the verse which is itself composed in the Gītikā metre shows that this number must be either six or seven.

The expression *erādarol* ('in the second') in the first pāda is regarded by Kittel as referring to the pāda; and the Gītikā, therefore, according to him, consists of two halves containing seven and six feet respectively, the sixth foot in each half being a Brahmā. The editor of the Karnāṭaka-kāvya-kalānidhi edition of the book, however, interprets that expression as 'in the second place', and says that the Gītikā consists of two halves with seven feet each, and that, in both halves, the second and sixth feet are Brahma-ganas.

These interpretations are both wrong. The *Kavirājamārga*, written in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I (A. D. 815-877) contains twenty-two stanzas composed in this metre; and an examination of these stanzas (see particularly I, 45, 112, 137 on pp. 10, 23 and 28 of the edition published by the Madras University) shows clearly that the editor of the K. K. edition is wrong in interpreting *eradarol* as 'in the second place', and that Kittel is wrong in holding that the second half contains six feet only and not seven. And these stanzas, as well as Nāgavarma's definition given above, make it plain that the Gitikā consists of two halves each containing seven *mītra* feet, the sixth foot in both halves being a Brahmā foot while the others may be Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Rudra² feet.

It is my object in this paper to point out some instances of Sanskrit verses that are composed in this Gitikā metre.

1. In the course of the article published in pp. 46 ff. above of this *Journal*, I have had occasion to point out that the first twenty-four verses of the Tālgunda inscription of Śāntivarman are not *mātrāsamakas* as believed by Kielhorn (*Epig. Indica*, 8, 27) but are composed in what I have there called *mītrāgaya*² metres, that all but five³ of the ninety-six pādas contained in these verses consist of a R(uḍra) foot, followed by a V(isṇu) foot and a B(rahmā) foot, and that hence twenty of these are *samarittas* belonging to the *mītrāgaya* class of metres and four, *upajātis*. In other words, since *mītrāgaya*

1. Regarding these feet, see p. 51 above in this *Journal*.

2. Kittel calls them *dēvāksara-gayas*, because Nāgavarma himself has, according to him, made use of that term in V. 340 (p. 127): *bayasida dēvāksarada prayōga-taraz adudellamani pēdem*. In the K. K. edition, however, this verse (V. 260) reads as *Jayadēvāksaradhaavaja-prayōga-taram aduv-ellamani pēdem* and one cannot therefore feel certain that Nāgavarma really used the term *dēvāksara* in connection with these *gayas*.

The term *tripurusa*, used in this connection by the editor of the K. K. edition, is equally dubious. According to him, the term is used by Nāgavarma in the phrase (p. 77) *I tri-purusaśāndada ganada neraviyole*; but in Kittel's edition (p. 98) this phrase reads as *pinte pēda ganada neraviyol*, and there is no mention of *tripurusa* in it.

3. In reality all but four; 17a follows the regular scheme RVB and not RRB as I have erroneously said there.

metres with four pādas of the type RVB are unknown¹, I have in effect agreed with Kielhorn in thinking that the metre of these verses is 'unbekannt' (unknown), though dissenting from his opinion that it is a mora metre.

This substitution of one unknown metre for another is not very satisfactory, and I now propose therefore to abandon the division into gaṇas adopted in that article in favour of another which would make these stanzas conform to the definition of the Gitikā given above.

This is quite feasible; for, as readers may have noticed, a given sequence of *gurus* and *laghus*, while it can be divided into varṇa-gaṇas in only one way, can be divided into miśra-gaṇas in many different ways. Thus, for instance, pādas ab of stanza 1 of the Tālgunda inscription:

jayati viśva-veda²-saṅghāta-
nicitaika-mūrtis sanātanah

1. The only metres of this class, besides Gitikā, that are mentioned and described by Nāgavarma in his *Chandōmbudhi* (vv. 299, ff.; pp. 98 ff. in Kittel's edition) are:—*Tripadi* (4+4+3 gaṇas); *Piriy-akkara* (4 pādas of the type BVVVVVR), *Dorey-akkara* (4 pādas of the type VVBVVB), *Nāduvap-akkara* (4 pādas of the type BVVVR), *Edey-akkara* (4 pādas of the type BVVR), Ede (Nāgavarma's description of this metre is obscure and no examples are known of verses composed in this metre), *Akkarike* (4 pādas of the type VBVVR), *Caspadi* (4 pādas of the type RR), *Chandōvataṇṭra* (4 pādas of the type VVVB) and *Madanavati* (4 pādas of the type VVVVR or RRRV or VVVVV-gu).

2. I do not agree with Kielhorn (*Ep. Indica*, 8, 31, n. 7) that the reading is *-deva-*. In the collotype opposite to p. 32, one can see how similar the formation of this letter *ve* is to that of *vi* in *viśva*. For the rest, there can be no doubt that the Sthānu or Siva praised in this verse is the Siva-liṅga known as Prānavaśvara before whose temple the pillar containing the inscription stands (see Kielhorn's description on p. 24 l. c.). The epithet *viśva-veda-saṅghāta-nicitaika-mūrti* refers to this Prānavaśvara, and is quite apposite since the *prāṇava* is regarded as the quintessence or embodiment of the Vedas. Compare for instance, the passage *om ity etad aksaram brahmasya pādīś catvāra vedāś catuspād idam aksaram parām brahma pūrvātya mātrā pṛihivy a-kārah sa rghbir rg-veda brahma vasavo gāyatrī gārhapatiyah . . .* that occurs in the *Atharvaśikhopaniṣad*.

can each be divided into miśra-gānas in eight different ways as BBBV, BBVB, BVBB, VBBB, VRB, VBR, RVB and RBV; and the ardha formed of these pādas can thus be divided into miśra feet in 8×8 or 64 different ways. Further, if we disregard the division into pādas and consider the ardha itself (with its twenty akṣaras) as a unit, we can divide it into miśra-gānas in still other different ways.¹ Similarly, the other ardhas too in the verses of this inscription, and also in the other miśra-gāna verses referred to in the above-mentioned article, can all be divided into feet in many different ways.

Now, in connection with these verses, there are no extraneous considerations present that indicate² the particular way in which the pāda or ardha should be scanned; in fact, there is nothing to even indicate that the verses in question belong

1. e.g. RRRRB, VRRRR, BRRRVB, etc.

2. It is usual for Kannada poets to mention the name of the metre in connection with all stanzas composed by them. Miśra-gāna stanzas however are rare even in Kannada works. Thus, for instance, in Ponna's *Sānti-purāṇa* (c. 950 A. D.), out of a total of 1637 stanzas, only nine (5 Akkaras, 4 Tripadis; see App. 4 at the end of the printed edition) belong to this class; in Pampa's *Adīpurāṇa* (942 A. D.), out of a total of 1623 stanzas, only six (4 Akkaras, 2 Tripadis) belong to this class (see p. 6 of Introd. to *Sāntipurāṇa*) and in the *Vikramārjunavijaya* (c. 943 A. D.) of the same author, out of a total of 1609 stanzas, ten only (1 akkara and 9 pīriy-akkaras) belong to this class (see p. 525 of the Sāhitya Pariṣad edition of this book). In Ranna's *Ajitatpurāṇa* (993 A. D.) which has 791 stanzas (see p. 6 of Introd. to Ponna's *Sāntipurāṇa*), there is none belonging to this class; nor is there any in that author's *Sahasabhimavijaya* (c. 1000 A. D.).

Kannada poets of the 14th and later centuries employed for the most part the metres Sāṅgatya and Satpadi in their writings, so that it is difficult to find in their works stanzas composed in the Āryā and other well-known metres even, let alone miśra-gāna metres.

Examples of the Gitikā are met with in the *Kavirājamārga* and Nāgavarma's *Kāvyaavalōkana*, and, so far as I know, in no other Kannada work. Examples of Eje are, as observed above, unknown; and so likewise are examples of the Chandōvataṁśa, Madanavatī, Caupadi, Naduvan-akkara, Edey-akkara, and Dorey-akkara.

to the *mīśra-gāya* class, and we are therefore free to adopt any way of scansion that we like.

Of the sixty-four ways of feet-division mentioned in the above connection, sixteen furnish us with an *ardha* of 8 feet, and sixteen, with one of 6 feet; the remaining thirty-two furnish us with an *ardha* of 7 feet. By scanning the above two pādas therefore as BBVBRBV, we get an *ardha* of 7 feet the sixth of which is a Brahmā foot. Similarly, the second half too of stanza 1: *sthāṇur īndu-rāśmi-vicchurita-dyutimaj-jatā-bhāra-mayūḍanāḥ* can be scanned as BBVBRBV, and the stanza is thus found to be a Gitikā. In regard to the 46 halves of the remaining 23 stanzas too, we get, by scanning pādas bd as RBV and pādas ac as BBVB (and BVVB in the case of 11c, 17c, 21c and 24c), halves of 7 feet with B as the 6th foot; and we thus find that all the twenty-four stanzas at the beginning of the Tālgunda inscription of Śāntivarman are Gitikās.

The two verses cited on p. 48 above from the *Tusām* and *Ajanṭā* inscriptions too are likewise Gitikās; both halves of the first verse, and the second half of the second, can be scanned as BBVBRBV, while the first half of the second can be scanned as BBVBRBR.

2. On p. 53 of the above-mentioned article, I have referred to sixty stanzas of Bhāṭṭa-Bhīṣma's *Rāvayārjunīya* that are composed in a *mīśra-gāya* metre. These stanzas are all Gitikās; of the 120 *ardhas* contained in them, sixty-five¹ contain the gāyas BBVBRBV, twenty-three² the gāyas BBVVRBV, nine³

1. Namely, both halves of 21/39; 65/18; 68/44; 69/49; 30/61; 33/26; 97/10; 168/7; 170/20; 171/25, 28; 172/36, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54; 192/60; 174/58; first halves of 5/35; 16/70; 19/26; 33/23; 49/7, 8, 9; 55/60; 60/31; 64/5; 68/43; 174/54; 177/80; 179/6; 203/53; and the second halves of 84/62; 85/63; 94/58; 169/15; 171/27, 30, 31, 32; 172/34, 40, 41, 48. Regarding the mode of citation, see n. 2 on p. 53 above.

2. Namely, both halves of 84/65; 172/37, 39; 176/68; first halves of 94/58; 169/15; 170/22; 172/35, 41; 176/70 and second halves of 49/8; 53/44; 55/60; 60/31; 170/22; 171/26, 33; 173/52 and 177/80.

3. Namely, first halves of 83/54; 171/26, 31; 172/42; 173/48 and second halves of 33/23; 49/7, 9; 179/8.

the gaṇas BBVBRRB, ten¹ the gaṇas BBBRBV, five² the gaṇas BBVRRBV, three³ the gaṇas BBVBRBR, two⁴ each the gaṇas BBBRBB and BBBBVB, while one ardha⁵ contains the gaṇas BBBRBV. That is to say, each ardha contains 7 gaṇas the sixth of which is a Brahmā.

Similarly the two verses:

iti sureyāpi pañca-pañcāhād
rasa-varṇa-gandhaiḥ samanvitā|
bhavati tailam nāmaś cedam
undīram aty-artha-kārmukam||
tailam etad yah surām api vā
puruṣaiḥ prayuñjita yatrataḥ|
pariharanti taṇi gadānikāny
ājau kṛtastrān ivetare||

quoted by Kielhorn (p. 27 l. c.) from the *Bower Manuscript* are also Gitikās; every one of the four ardhas contains the gaṇas BBVBRBV.

3. In a note published in the JRAS, 1906, Mr. Thomas pointed out (p. 453) that the Kharoṣṭhī inscription engraved on a steatite vase kept in the Peshawar museum (it is now in the Central Museum, Lahore) is a verse composed in an unknown metre; and he read this verse as

Gihilena Siharsacchitena ca
bhatarehi Takkaśilāe|
ayam thūvo pratīthāvito
savva-buddhāna pūyāe||

Prof. Lueders has however shown in his article in *Eph. Indica*, 8, 296 ff., that the readings *Gihilena* and *bhatarehi* are wrong, and that the proper reading of the inscription (with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing) is—

1. Namely, first halves of 53/37; 171/27, 30, 32, 33; 172/40; 173/52 and second halves of 5/35; 19/26 and 179/6.
2. Namely, first half of 84/62 and second halves of 64/5; 68/43; 172/42 and 176/70.
3. Namely, first halves of 53/44; 85/63 and second half of 179/8.
4. *Viz.*, first half of 172/34 and second of 16/70; and first half of 179/8 and second of 83/54 respectively.
5. *Viz.*, second half of 172/35.

Sihlena Sibharacchitena ca
 bhrātarehi Takkhaśilāe|
 ayarpū thūvo pralitthāvito
 savva-buddhāna pūyāe||

And he observes in continuation: "It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr. Thomas. . . . Mr. Thomas's suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose."

It can be seen that the above passage can be divided into halves (as has been done by Lueders) which contain the ganas RRVBBBV and BBBVVVBV respectively. The passage thus is a Gitikā, and Mr. Thomas was quite justified in looking on it as a verse.

(b) In the note referred to above (JRAS. 1906, p. 452), Mr. Thomas has also pointed out that the inscription found on the Piprahwa vase is likewise a verse, and that it begins with the words *iyam salila-nidhane*. The late Dr. Fleet, in another note published in the same journal (1907, p. 106), agreed with Mr. Thomas that the inscription was a verse, but said that *iyam salila-nidhane* was the beginning of the second half, and that the verse began with the words *sukiti-bhātinam*. Thus, according to him, the stanza, after restoration of the long vowels and double consonants, would read as—

— - - - - - - -
 sukiti-bhātinam̄ sabbagi
 - - - - - - - -
 nīkānamp̄ saputta-dālānam̄|
 - - - - - - - -
 iyam̄ salila-nidhāne
 - - - - - - - -
 (a) buddhassa bhagavate sakiyānam̄||
 - - - - - - - -
 (b) buddhassa bhagavate sakiyānam̄||;

and the metre was Udgiti when (a) *te* in *bhagavate* was regarded as short, and Upagiti when (b) it was regarded as long, and when, in addition, one read *sakī* (with long ī) in the word *sakiyānam̄* and regarded *ssa* in *buddhassa* as long.

I am unable to follow Fleet in regarding the syllables *te* in *Bhagavate* and *nam̄* in *sabbagi-nīkānam̄* as light; nor do the arguments urged by him to show that *ssa* in *buddhassa* is heavy, carry conviction to my mind; the reading *sakiyānam̄* too (with

long 7) seems to me to be erroneous. It is therefore my opinion that this verse can be neither an Upagiti nor an Udgiti. On the other hand, since its two halves contain the gaṇas VBBVBBV and BBBBVBV respectively, it seems to me preferable to look on the verse as a Gitikā.

(c) Lines 1, 2 of Fragment 1 published by Prof. Lueders in his *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen* contain the passage, *bhava-nicārtitakeṣu kleśeṣu na kiñcid asti pṛrahātavyam yasya nīyam anityam vā na kiñcid asti boddhavyam*, immediately after which follow the letters t. m. y. n. ks. pt. which have to be read as *tasmā yena kṣiptam*. This passage is not mentioned on pp. 27-29 where Lueders has collected together all the metrical passages that occur in the fragments, which makes it plain that he looks upon it as prose. And yet, the words *yasya nīyam anityam vā na kiñcid asti boddhavyam* have a metrical ring about them; and examination shows that the passage is really a verse whose first half ends with *pṛrahātavyam*. The two halves contain the gaṇas EBVBVRBV and BBBBVBV respectively, and the verse is thus, like the verses in the above-mentioned two inscriptions, plainly a Gitikā with end-rhyme. It is, so far as the scheme of gaṇas in the two halves is concerned, the exact counterpart of Rāvaṇārjunīya 16/70: *lokītāvandā-sarvāṅgaiḥ sindūra-saṅgān mataṅgajaiḥ] lokītāvibhūtih sandhyeva prthivī vicāriṇi*.

The fragment referred to above belongs to a drama which was, according to Lueders (p. 65), written in the first century A. D., while the vase inscriptions referred to above belong to the third or fourth century B. C. The Tālgunda inscription of Śāntivarman is assigned by Kielhorn (*Ep. Indica*, 8, 31) to about the first half of the sixth century A. D., and the Tuśām and Ajantā inscriptions are, in all probability, both earlier. As regards the Rāvaṇārjunīya, there is nothing in it to indicate when it was written; but it is evident from the work that the author, Bhīma, was a good grammarian. Now, we know of a grammarian Bhīma or Bhīmasena who wrote a commentary on Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha* and lived before Candragomin in the 5th century A. D. or earlier (Liebich: *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, III, *Der Dhātupāṭha*, p. 5). If this Bhīma be the same as the author of the Rāvaṇārjunīya, that work would have to be assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

As already observed on p. 50 above of this *Journal*, it is the opinion of Nāgavarma that the miśra-gaṇa metres are peculiar to

the Kannada language and are not in use in Sanskrit and Prākṛt compositions. The question therefore arises: how can this opinion of Nāgavarma be reconciled with the fact that more than eighty Sanskrit verses composed in the Gitikā metre have come down to us? To this question, I am unable, in the present state of our knowledge, to attempt an answer.

The Gitikā is not, perhaps, the only miśra-gaṇa metre that is employed in Prākṛt. The Jogimārā cave inscription:

śutanuka nama] devadāśikkyi]
tarpi kamayitha balanaśeye]
devadine nama] lupadakhe]

that is incised in Brāhmī characters of Aśoka's time (see the account of Dr. Bloch in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1903-4, Part II, p. 128 ff.) is, as pointed out by Prof. Lueders (*op. cit.*, p. 42) and as, indeed is evident from the division into lines, a verse containing three lines or a Tripadī. After restoration of the long vowels and double consonants that are not shown in the writing, these lines read as—

Śutanukā nāma devadāśikkyi]
tarpi kāmāyittha Bālānaśeye]
Devadine nāma lūpadakkhe]

and form, according to Lueders, a mora *tripadī* with three lines containing 17 mātrās each. Now, Tripadis are unknown to writers on Sanskrit prosody; and even the *Prākṛta-Paṅgala*, which describes three such, the Sihinī (32+12+18 moras), Gāhinī (12+18+32 moras) and Mālā (45+12+15 moras), knows nothing of one with 17 mātrās in each pāda.

The miśra-gaṇa metre Tripadī is described by Nāgavarma in VV. 299-301 of the *Chandōmbudhi* (pp. 98-101 of Kittel's edition) and consists of three lines containing 4, 4 and 3 gaṇas respectively, of which the 6th and 10th are required to be Brahma-gaṇas. The others, according to Nāgavarma's definition, must be Viṣṇu or Rudra feet; but examples are met in inscriptions where they also are Brahma-gaṇas; see, for instance, the Tatṭukōti inscription of about the seventh century A. D. published in *Indian Antiquary* 10, p. 61, lines 5-8. The lines of the above verse can be divided into the gaṇas VBVB; VBVB and RBR respectively, and we can look upon it as a *Tripadī* of the miśra-gaṇa class.

I would add, in conclusion, that a careful search in ancient inscriptions and books will, in all probability, bring to light other examples of verses composed in miśra-gaṇa metres.

TANDIVĀDA PLATES OF PRTHVĪ MAHĀRĀJA.

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAVVA, M.A., PH.D.,

Reader in Indian History, University of Madras.

These plates, which belong to a hitherto unknown ruling family of the Telugu country, were kindly lent to me by Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi. As Mr. Kavi does not remember how he obtained them, it is not possible to know the region in which they were found. The plates are three in number, each of them is O. 1" in thickness and measures 6.2" by 2.1". Their total weight is 26½ tolas. There is a hole O. 35" in diameter near the left edge for inserting the ring. The plates, excepting the first, are inscribed on both the sides. There are four lines of writing on the first, and five lines on each side of the other two plates. Neither the ring to which the inscription was originally fastened, nor the seal has come into my hands.

The inscription contained in these plates is incomplete. It appears that there were four plates belonging to it, securely fastened to a ring, in the possession of Mr. Kavi. The Superintendent of Epigraphy, who secured a loan of this set of plates, noticed it briefly in the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1916-17.¹ Only three of the four plates are now available, Mr. Kavi having lost the fourth plate.

Though the inscription is incomplete, it does not impair our knowledge of its contents; for the lost plate contained only the imprecatory verses which are usually found in inscriptions. This is shown by the line of the verse '*bahubhir-vasudhā datta*', inscribed at the end of the fifth line on the second side of the third plate.

The characters used in this inscription belong to the Venigī alphabet of the 6th and 7th centuries. They present no difficulties. There is one point, however, that deserves notice here. The Epigraphist reads the name of the *dīnapti* (3 pl. 2 side II.4-5) as Rāmabigrū rājah.² Now the first letter of l. 5 of 3 pl. 2nd

1. No. 6, App. A & Part II, Para. 52.

2. M.E.R. 1917, II p. 132.

side is not 'bi' but 'ta'; a comparison with 'it' in 'śīlināḥ' (pl. 2 side 2 l.5) makes it clear. Moreover, 'ba' did not assume its present shape, which the letter under consideration very closely resembles, until the 9th and the 10th centuries. Therefore, the name of the *ājñapti* must be read as Rāmalanru rājah and not as Rāmabigrū rājah*. The letters are deeply engraved; and this has made the task of reading the inscription, even in places where the plates are worn out, easy. The engraver cannot be said to have exercised proper care in executing his task. Consequently, several mistakes have crept into the text of the inscription as shown below:

Plate No.	Side.	Line.	Mistake.	Correction.
1	"	2	Samudyōtita	Samuddiyōtita
2	1	4	Pādānuddhyatāḥ	Pādānudhyatāḥ
"	"	"	Prithivī	Prithivī
"	"	"	grāma-madhi - vas-	grāma - madhivasa -
			sata-sarva	sas-sarva
"	"	"	Kutumbinalāḥ	Kutumbinalāḥ
"	"	"	Samajñādpaya	Samajñādpaya
"	2	1	Sṛutimurti	Sṛutismurti
"	"	"	agnistōma	agnistoma
3	1	1	(Upa) nisadyōgava-	(Upa) nisadyōgava -
			bodha	bodha
3	1	3	Koṇḍamaṇci	Koṇḍamaṇci
3	2	2	rārāgya	rārāgya

Besides these, there are a few words in which letters are omitted. He inscribes 'priya Janaya' (pl. 1, 1.4) for 'priya Janayāḥ', and 'ājñapti' (pl. 3, side 2, 1.4) for 'ājñaptih', omitting the *visarga* in both the cases. Again, he inscribes 'pravardhamāna' (pl. 3, side 2, 1.3) for 'pravardhamāna' leaving out the letter 'va'.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; the whole of it excepting the line 'bahubhir-vasidhā dattā' (pl. 3, side 2, 1.5) is in prose. The language is not faulty; but in Pl. 2 side 2, 1. 3 there occurs an ungrammatical form, 'Prādyamāṇa'. This may be corrected into 'pratāyamāṇa'.

The present inscription is assigned to the beginning of the 8th century A. D. on paleographical grounds.¹ There are reasons

* The name of the *ājñapti* is a little intriguing. I thank Mr. V. Prabhakara Sastri for suggesting a correct explanation. The name of the *ājñapti* is Rāmala, *ru* (or *udu*) being the Telugu suffix of the third person nominative singular.

1. M.E.R. 1917, II, p. 132.

for believing that it belongs to an earlier epoch. (1) It is evident from 'Piṣṭapurāt', the opening sentence of the record, that the capital of Pr̄thivī Mahārāja, the donor of the grant, was Piṣṭapuram. This town, together with the neighbouring country, fell into the hands of the Cālukyas in 630 A. D., who remained its masters ever since. Inscriptions make it abundantly clear that Piṣṭapuram and its neighbourhood were included in the Cālukyan dominions at 'the beginning of the 8th century.' Therefore, it could not have been possible for a king who was not a Cālukya to rule at Piṣṭapuram as an independent monarch. The donor of the present grant is not a Cālukya; nor is there any evidence to show that he was a subordinate of another king. Therefore, this grant must have been issued at some time before the Cālukyan conquest.

(2) It is not possible to assign this grant, even on paleographical considerations, to 'the beginning of the 8th century'. The characters of this inscription closely resemble the alphabet of the Timmāpuram plates of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana. On account of these considerations, I believe that the inscription under consideration belongs to the 7th century and that 630 A. D. is a very good date for it.

The inscription records a grant made by Pr̄thivī Mahārāja of Ramakāśyapasagōtra, son of Vikramēndra, and grandson of Mahārāja Rajadurjaya of the village of Tāṇḍivāḍa in the Pāguṇāra Viṣaya as 'an agrahāra' to the *Cchandogasabrahmacārin*, Bhavaśarman of Kondamañci, a son of Pr̄thviśarman and a grandson of Viṣṇuśarman, having freed the village from all encumbrances. The grant was issued from Piṣṭapuram on *Kārtikīka* šu. 15 in the 46th regnal year of the king.

The dynasty to which the donor belonged is not known. He is, however, said to be a scion of the Rama-Kāśyapasagōtra. The name of the *gōtra* is, no doubt, unusual; but, on that account, it is not reasonable to declare that it is 'evidently a mistake for Kāśyapa *gōtra*'.¹ Rajadurjaya, the grandfather of the donor was a 'Mahārāja', and he is said to have brightened the quarters by his moonlight-like glory, which he acquired by protecting the whole world. It is not possible to estimate the real achievements of this king from such laudatory epithets. The name Rajadurjaya occurs in the inscriptions of 11th and 12th centuries. The

1. M.E.R. 1917, II, p. 132.

Velanādu chiefs of Veṅgi claim a Raṇadurjaya as their ancestor.¹ It is not known whether the Raṇadurjaya of the present inscription had any connection with the ancestors of the Velanādu chiefs. As Vikramēndra, the father of the donor, is mentioned without any titles, it is very doubtful whether he ever ascended the throne. Probably he predeceased his father. Prithvī Mahārāja, the donor of the grant, appears to have been a powerful prince. It is said that his glory increased by the prowess of the *Sāmantamandala* which he had subdued.

Vikramēndra, the name of the father of Prithvī Mahārāja, recalls to mind the names of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings. Of all the dynasties that ruled over Veṅgi, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins alone bore the name of Vikramēndra. It is not unlikely that they were somehow connected with the family of Prithvī Mahārāja. Following the ancient practice of naming one's children after one's overlord, Raṇadurjaya might have given the name of Vikramēndra to his son as a mark of his loyalty to his master. In that case, we have to suppose that Raṇadurjaya was originally a subordinate of Vikramēndra II of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family; and that he asserted his independence, having risen up against his sovereign in rebellion. The history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings, so far as it is known, lends some support to this surmise. The authority of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins extended up to Pañjika *rāṣṭra* in Kaliṅga during the reign of Indrabhaṭṭaraka Varman, the father of Vikramēndra Varman II. There is reason for believing that Indrabhaṭṭaraka's reign ended disastrously.² The Viṣṇukuṇḍins seem to have lost their hold on the territory to the north of the Gōdāvari. This loss of territory might be due to the rebellion of Raṇadurjaya who seems to have established himself at Piṣṭapura. Vikramēndra II and his successor were not able to restore the fallen fortunes of their family. And therefore, Raṇadurjaya was able to bequeath his authority to his grandson. It was probably to reconquer the lost dominion that Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhava Varman III crossed the Gōdāvari in the 48th year of this reign.³

The recipient of the gift registered in this charter is, as already noticed, the *Cchandogasabrahmacārin*, Bhavaśarman; he was learned in the *Vēdās*, the *Vēdāṅgas* and the *Sāstras*. He per-

1. E.C. IV, p. 34.

2. J.B.B.R.A.S. XII, p. 10; Dubreuil: The History of Ancient Deccan.

3. The Bhāratī.

formed several sacrifices, offered worship to Gods, *pitrīs* and men day and night, acquired the *trisahasra vidyā* and commented on twenty works. His father, Prthviśarman spent most of his time in performing sacrifices. He pleased the *rīvīkas* by offering largesses liberally. He was skilled in the study, teaching, and exposition of the *trisahasra vidyā*. Viṣṇuśarman, his grandfather, mastered the *śrutiś* and *smṛtiś* thoroughly and he purified his body by performing the *agniṣṭōma* and other sacrifices.

The passage describing the donee and his ancestors give us an idea of the kind of education which was imparted to the Brahmans of the 7th century. Besides the *Vedas* and the *Vedāṅgas*, they studied the *Śāstrias*. Of the six *darśanas*, *nyāya*, *upamīṣṭa* (*vedānta*) and *yoga* are mentioned in the record. It is said that the donee and his father were both proficient in the *trisahasra vidyā*, the nature of which is not known. The Brahmapas of the age spent their lives in study and teaching. They constantly performed Vedic sacrifices such as the *agniṣṭōma*.

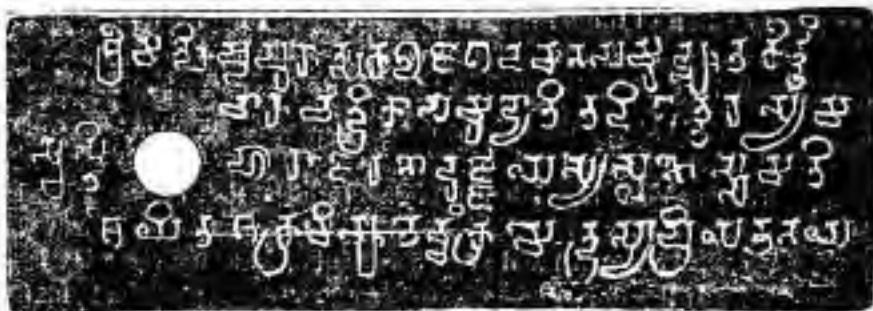
Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Piṣṭapura is identical with Piṭhāpuram in the East Gōdāvarī district. Tāṇḍivāḍa, the subject of this grant, is said to have been included in the Pāguṇāvara *vīśaya*. Though the place, Pāguṇāra, cannot at present be identified, it is not impossible to locate the territory within its jurisdiction roughly. This district is mentioned in some of the Eastern Cālukya grants: one of the inscriptions of Cālukya Bhīma II records a grant of the village of Digumbāṛu in the Pāguṇavara *vīśaya*. It was bounded by Krāñca in the east, Krānūru in the south, and Palakonu on the west and the north.¹ Another inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana V records a grant of the village of Permājili in the Pāguṇavāra *vīśaya* to Agniśarman of Podegu.² I believe that the names Pāguṇāra, Pāguṇavara and Pāguṇāvara refer to the same village. Now the area in which the villages, Digumbāṛu, Krāñca, Krānūru, Palakonu, Permājili and Podegu mentioned in these two records are found, may be taken to indicate roughly the situation of the Pāguṇāvara *vīśaya*. All the villages excepting Krānūru are found in the Narsapur taluka of the East Gōdāvarī district. Digumbāṛu, Krāñca, Palakonu, Permājili and Podegu are evidently identical with Digumāṛu, Kāza, Pālakollu, Penumanchili and Pōdūru respectively in the Narasapuram taluka. Therefore it may be

1. I.A. XIII, p. 215.

2. M.E.R. 1913-14, II, p. 85.

TANDIVADA PLATES OF PRTHVI MAHARAJA

First Plate, First Side



Second Plate, First Side



Second Plate, Second Side



Third Plate, First Side

ରେଖାଗଣ୍ଡାରେକ୍ଷନ୍ ପାଇବାରୁ ଦେଇ
ହେଉଥିଲା କରିବାରେ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା
କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା

Third Plate, Second Side

ପ୍ରାଣୀ ମନେ କୁଳି ସବୁ ହେଲା ଏହାର ଜୀବ
ନେତ୍ରରୁ ଦେଖି କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା ଦଶା ଘରରୁ
କୁଳି କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା
କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା

[By the kind courtesy of the Editor of the Bhāratī.]

held with reason that Pāgupāra viṣaya corresponds to the Narasapur taluka in the East Godāvāri district. Now, a search must be made for Koṇḍamānci and the Tāndivāda mentioned in the present inscription in the Narasapur taluka. The former is no doubt identical with Koṇḍamāchili on the western bank of the Godāvāri. The latter cannot be identified at present. There are two villages called Tādipāṛṇi and Tāmarāda in the Tanuku taluka. It is not known whether they have any connection with Tāndivāda of the present grant.

FIRST PLATE

First Side

1. स्वस्ति¹ [|| +] श्रीमतिष्ठुरात् सकलजगद्बनसमुद्भूतकार्ति-
2. चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्योतितदिग्नतरस्य म-
3. हाराजरणदुर्जयस्य समोसमति-
4. शवितशक्तिभूतेविक्रमेन्दस्य प्रियतनय [;*]

SECOND PLATE

First side

1. ग्रदर्ढमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसमन्तमङ्गलानिज-
2. सुजविवयोदयाविगतयशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरम+
3. काश्यपसंगोत्रः परमब्रह्मपयो मातापितृपा-
4. दानुदृष्ट्यातः³ श्रीप्रिणिशी⁴ महाराजः पागुणरविपये⁵ ताण्डि-
5. वाडग्राममधिवस्तसर्वं⁶ समवेतान् ७ कुटिल्मिनस्समज्ञाप⁸-

1. The word स्वस्ति is inscribed in the margin opposite 1, 3.
2. Read समुद्योति.
3. Read पादानुद्यातः.
4. Read प्रिणिशी.
5. The horizontal stroke connecting the right with the left arm of ५ is very indistinct.
6. Read अधिवस्तसर्व-
7. Read कुटिल्मिन-
8. Read समाज्ञाप-

SECOND PLATE

Second Side

1. यति यथा श्रुतिमृति१पारदृशनः यथावदनुष्ठितामृष्टे२-
2. मादिकियमूलमनो विष्णुशर्मणः पुत्राय असकुदिज्या-
3. प्रयोगप्रायमाण३ द्रविणसूचितत्विकस४-
4. दस्यसमृद्धेः त्रिसहस्रविद्याय्यनप्रवचन [व्याख्यान]-
5. इतिलिनः ५पृथिवीशर्मणः पुत्राय वेदवे[दाङ्गन्यायोप]-

THIRD PLATE

First Side

1. निष्ठोग६वदोधनिर्मलीकृतबुद्धये विविधाधरावभूथा-
2. भ्भःपवित्रीकृतविग्रहाय देवपितृमनुष्यसुमर्चन-
3. समानीतरात्रिन्दिवाय कोण्डमणिचमामनिकासिने७
4. त्रिसहस्रविद्याय विश्वतिव्याह्यानाय कामकायनस-
5. गोत्राय छन्दोगसत्रवाचारिणे भवशर्मणे असमदायु-

Second Side

1. राग्यै४शोभित्वद्ये सर्वकरपरिहारेणामहारी-
2. कृत्य ग्रामोऽप्यन्दतः [**] न कैष्ठिदपि वाचा करणीया [**] प्र-
3. [*व]र्द्धमानविजयरात्यसंवत्सरे पद्मवत्तारिदो
4. कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यान्धर्मप्रदानमेतत् [**] आङ्गिति श्रीराम-
5. उत्तराप्यजः [*] अत्र व्यासगीताक्षोकाः [॥] वहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता

1. Read श्रुतिमृति

2. Read भित्तो

3. Read ग्रहायमान

4. The letter क is indistinctly inscribed over त. Perhaps it has been inserted after engraving the line completely.

5. Originally फि was engraved; the letter was then corrected as व.

6. Read निष्ठोगोत्तमोऽपि

7. Read कोण्डमणिन्

8. Read गोत्रोऽपि-

9. The letter is inscribed with an additional serif on the left arm.

TAMIL

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L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.

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COGNATES IN CENTRAL INDIAN AND NORTH
INDIAN DRAVIDIAN.

(Contd. from page 147 of pt. ii, Vol. IX.)

Tamil.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tulu.	Kü.	Göndi.	Kurukk.	Malte.	Brahui.
<i>kulai</i> 'to mix', 'to pound into a paste'	<i>kuñat</i>	<i>koly</i>		<i>kure-p-</i>	<i>gōñg-</i> 'to be mixed'				
<i>koli</i> 'to sift'	<i>koli</i>	<i>koly</i>			<i>kyō-p-</i>	'to winnow'			
<i>koli</i> 'winnow'			<i>koli</i>	<i>kōti</i> , <i>kōti</i>		<i>kōtu</i>			
<i>koli</i> 'owl'	<i>koli</i>		<i>kōdi</i>			<i>kōra</i>			
<i>tōlai</i> , 'com-	<i>tōlai</i>		<i>tōgi</i>			<i>tōra</i>			
<i>paniun'</i>						<i>tōru</i>			
<i>nūlai</i> 'to creep in'	<i>nūlai</i>	<i>nōla</i>		<i>utīr</i> , <i>utir-g-</i>			<i>utir-g-</i>		
<i>pāla</i> - 'old'	<i>pāla</i>	<i>pāla</i>		<i>pañā</i>	<i>phāñi</i>				
<i>pāla</i> - 'fruit'		<i>pālam</i>							
<i>pālu</i> 'to ripen'	<i>pālu-</i>	<i>pāñu</i>		<i>parandu</i>					
<i>pāli</i> 'to squeeze'	<i>pāli</i>			<i>phāñu</i>					
<i>pāli</i> 'warm'		<i>pāli</i>		<i>phāñi</i>	<i>phāñi</i>				
<i>phāñg-</i> boil'	'to	<i>phāñhāñ-</i>		<i>phāñ-</i>					
								<i>phāñ-</i> 'to raise'	<i>phāñ-</i> 'boil'

Tamil.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tulu,	Kui,	Gōṇḍī	Kurukh.	Malto,	Brahūl.
<i>pōludu</i> 'time'	<i>pōludu</i>	<i>pōludu</i>	<i>pōludu</i>						
<i>mañjig-</i> 'to be immersed' <i>mañj-</i> <i>viñ-</i> 'to fall'	<i>mañjig-</i> , <i>maññi-</i> , <i>viñ-</i>	<i>mañjig-</i> , <i>bil-</i>	<i>mañjig-</i>	<i>maruk-</i>	<i>maññi</i>	<i>cf. ap̪or</i> 'i h a t time', <i>i p̪ p o r</i> 'now', <i>maññig</i>	<i>maññix</i>	<i>mañjig-</i>	

REPRESENTATIVES OF L IN CENTRAL INDIAN
AND NORTHERN DIALECTS.

Kūi-Kūvi.

In nine instances [see table above], *l* or *r* represents *l* of the south, in two *d* or *d* appears, and in one a syncopated form stands for its southern correspondent.

Kūvi, a sub-dialect of Kūi, has *l* in at least three instances in which Kūi shows *r*.

Many representatives are accent-shifted and aphaeresized modifications of the forms of the south.

l of the south = Kūi-Kūvi *r* (*r*), *d* (*d*) or *l* (of Kūvi).

Gōṇḍī.

R represents *l* of the south in at least four instances; *pāṇḍī* 'to ripen' is a verb corresponding to Tel. *pāṇḍu* 'fruit'; *kohk-* 'to pound into a paste' owes its *h* to the Gōṇḍī change of an original *l*, *r* + *k*; *korr* 'fowl' has the trilled *r* [Treich, Gr., p.]; *addī* 'heat of the sun' [cf. Kann. *alte*, *arte*, Tulu *arte*, based on *al* 'to burn'] shows syncope.

Kurukh-Malto.

(i) *pāce-* 'old' [cf. southern *pāla*];
pāc-gā 'worm' [cf. south. *pālin*];

te 'to pull' [cf. sth. *ilu-*]; and perhaps *xacc-* with its meanings as an auxiliary verb [as for *kali* 'to be over'] 'to finish' 'to be done with'; these reveal *e* or *cc* in forms corresponding to those in the south with *l*.

It is possible that *e*, *cc* of Kur.-Malto are the palatalised resultants of an older affix (*t?*) which was embodied in these forms.

(ii) In *əlox* 'to weep' [cf. southern *aļu*], for the initial vowel of which one may compare *əgo* 'rat'=sth. *əli*, Gō *əlli*; in *əl* 'to burn' [cf. sth. *al* 'to burn']; in *əluŋ-* [cf. sth. *əluŋd-*]; and in *əluŋ-* 'to be immersed' [cf. sth. *əluŋg-* 'to be immersed'], *l* stands for *l* of the south.

(ii) Kur. *ny-* 'to plough' [cf. sth. *n[ə]n-* 'to plough'] and *hiya* 'beneath' [cf. southern *hil* 'below'] show *y* corresponding to *l*.

(iv) In *ili* 'to descend' [cf. sth. *ili* 'to descend'], *pār-* 'to boil' [cf. sth. *pāluŋ-* 'to boil'] and perhaps in the instances with *e*, *cc* given under (i) above, there has been syncope.

(v) In *ver* 'owl' [cf. sth. *kōlī*; for *v-*, see 1A, 1933] and perhaps in Malto *pōcrū* 'worm' [sth. *pōlū*], *r* or *ṛ* stands for southern *l*.

(vi) Kur *pānn-* 'to ripen' shows developments similar to Kann. *pāṇṇu* 'ripe fruit', Tel. *pāṇḍu* 'ripe fruit', Gōḍi *pāṇḍ-* 'to ripen' [cf. Tam.-Mal. *pāṇḍu* 'ripe fruit' and Tuju *par-ndu* which latter shows the affix (*u*)*d* which has been embodied (with *sandhi* changes) in the Tel., Kann., Gō. and Kuzukk forms].

The sound-correspondence series for Kur, would therefore be the following:—{=l, y, r, (r)} [and syncope].

Brahmi.

Not many cognates are available from this dialect; but the following are interesting:—

(i) *ker-agh* 'beneath' [cf. sth. *M* 'below'] shows *r*.

he-f- 'to raise' [cf. sth. *e{b-* 'to raise'} in which *f-* is the causative affix [=vi, the causative affix of the south] is perhaps a syncopated representative.

A similar syncope perhaps underlies Br. *pū* 'worm' [cf. sth. *pōlū*] and Br. *tāmū* 'to fall' [cf. sth. *tāl-* 'to fall'].

l of the south—*r*, and an older sound suffering syncope.

IV

COGNATES EXCLUSIVE TO SOUTH DRAVIDIAN.

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannada.	Telugu.	Tuju.
<i>agal</i> 'to dig out'		<i>agal-</i> <i>agal</i> 'ditch'	<i>agadu, agad-ta</i> 'ditch'	<i>agarn, aga-</i> <i>lu.</i>
<i>alund-</i> 'to insert'		<i>al</i>	<i>add-</i>	
<i>alukku</i>	<i>alukku</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>adusu</i> 'mud, quagmire'	
<i>alagu</i> 'beauty'	<i>alagu</i>	<i>al</i>		
<i>ali</i> 'to destroy'	<i>ali</i>	<i>ali</i>	inscriptional <i>lay-</i> , later <i>dayy-</i> cf. also <i>adi</i> 'vain, use- less in <i>adi</i> '	cf. <i>arp-</i> 'to destroy'.

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannada.	Telugu.	Tulu.
<i>alai-kk-</i> <i>al</i> 'to go down'			<i>āsa</i> 'vain hope'; <i>adava</i> 'damaged' <i>adug-</i>	
<i>ilai</i>	<i>ilai</i>	<i>ile</i>		<i>ār, al</i>
<i>īlavan</i> 'toddy- drawer'			<i>īdigavāḍu</i>	
<i>ūlai</i> 'to labour hard'	<i>ūlai</i>	cf. <i>ūlgī</i> 'penance'		
<i>ūlyam</i> 'hard work'			<i>ūdigam</i>	
<i>oḷi</i> 'to be left behind'	<i>oḷi</i>	<i>oḷi</i>		
<i>olug-</i> 'to flow'	<i>olug-</i>	<i>oḷg-</i>	<i>oluk-</i>	<i>ori-</i>
<i>kalal-</i>	<i>kalal</i>		<i>krāl-</i>	
<i>hali</i>	<i>kayi</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>kado-c-</i>	<i>hari-, haji-</i>
<i>halai</i>	<i>kaya</i>	<i>gale</i>		<i>karre</i>
<i>kalug</i> 'to wash'	<i>kalug-</i>	<i>halc-</i> , <i>harc-</i> , <i>kacc-</i>	<i>kadug-</i>	
<i>kaluttu</i> 'neck'	<i>kaluttu</i>	<i>katlin,</i> <i>hafftu</i>		
<i>kil-a-van</i> 'old man'	<i>kilavan</i>	<i>kelavan</i>		
<i>kuṭal</i> 'tube'	<i>kuṭal</i>	<i>keṭal</i>	<i>krōvi; kōdalu</i> 'hollow cylin- der'	
<i>kuṭi</i> 'pit'	<i>kuṭi</i>	<i>kuṭi, guni</i>	<i>gruyyi</i>	<i>kuri, kuṭi</i>
<i>kuṭu</i> 'boiled rice', 'food', 'paste'	<i>kuṭu</i>	<i>kuṭu</i>	<i>kūḍu</i>	<i>kūru, kūlu</i>
<i>kuṭal</i>		<i>kuṭal</i>		
<i>suli</i>	<i>suli</i>	<i>suli</i>	<i>sudi</i>	<i>suri, suli</i>
<i>talai-</i>	<i>talai-</i>	<i>tale-</i>	cf. <i>talir-c-</i>	
<i>tal-</i> 'to go down'	<i>tal-</i>	<i>tal</i>	cf. <i>talika, tali- mi</i> 'endur- ance'	<i>tar-</i>
<i>thal-a-kk-</i>		<i>thal</i> 'to tread'	<i>trokk-</i> 'to tread'	<i>tor-p-</i> 'to kick, tread'
<i>thal-a-v-</i>	<i>thal-a-</i>	<i>tolal-</i> 'to move round,	<i>trōy-</i> 'to be pushed aside'	

Tamil.	Mal.	Kannada.	Telugu.	Tulu.
<i>tolu</i> 'to wor- ship'	<i>tolu-</i>	be per- plexed'		
<i>tolil</i> 'work' 'profession'	<i>tolil</i>	<i>t u l i l</i> 'worship'		<i>tolili</i> 'wor- ship'
<i>tolultai</i> 'ser- vant' 'slave'		<i>tolule</i>		
<i>nīlal</i> , <i>nīlal</i> 'shade'	<i>nīlal</i>	<i>nīl a l a l</i> <i>nīrala</i>	<i>nīdalit</i>	<i>nērala, nēlu</i>
<i>pāl</i> 'ruin' 'waste'	<i>pāl</i>	<i>pāl</i>	<i>pādu</i>	
<i>pugal</i> 'to praise'	<i>pugal</i>	<i>pugal</i>	<i>pugad-</i>	<i>pugal-</i>
<i>pulngu</i> 'civet'	<i>pulngu</i>	<i>punugu</i>	<i>pungu</i>	
<i>pulai</i> 'chan- nel'	<i>pula</i>	<i>pole</i>		
<i>poli</i> 'to be showered'	<i>poli</i>	<i>peyy-</i>	<i>peyy-</i>	
<i>polil</i> 'country, etc.'	<i>polil</i>	<i>polol</i>	<i>prolin</i>	
<i>pōl</i> 'to be split'	<i>pōl</i>	<i>pōl</i>		
<i>malaī</i> 'rain'	<i>mala</i>	<i>malo</i>		<i>male</i>
<i>malañg-</i> 'to become dim'	<i>malañn-</i>	<i>malaññ-</i>		
<i>melug-</i> 'to be- smear'	<i>melug-</i>	<i>meit-</i>	<i>mrēg-</i>	<i>mell-</i>
<i>melugn</i> 'shine' 'lustre'	<i>melugn</i>	<i>merugu</i>	<i>merugu</i>	<i>merji-</i>
<i>mulai</i> 'proto- berance'	<i>mulā</i>	<i>mole</i>		<i>mora, mura</i>
<i>mulāñg-</i> 'to be sounded'	<i>mulāññ-</i>	<i>mol</i>	<i>mrōg-</i>	
<i>val-ukk-</i> 'to slip'	<i>val-ukk-</i>	cf. <i>balal</i>		
<i>vālai</i> 'plantain tree'	<i>vāla</i>	<i>bōle</i>		<i>bīra, bālx</i>
<i>vilung-</i> 'to gulp'	<i>vilūññ-</i>	<i>ming-</i>	<i>mirūng-</i>	

KANNADA.

(i) *L* was a common sound in old Kannada till about the middle of the 13th century; but already in the inscriptive forms of 1000 A. D. to 1200 A. D. it had begun to be altered to *l* or

to *r* (in syncopated forms):—*č̄ju* 'seven' and *elge* 'may he ascend' [1019 A. D.], *bali* 'path', *gale* 'staff' [1048 A. D.], *ali* 'to destroy' [for *ali* in 1076 A. D.], *pagal-* 'to praise', *negal-* 'fame' [1123 A. D.] and *ičigum* 'will descend' [for *ičigum* in 1187 A. D.] show / for *l*—a change which must have commenced early.

The inscriptional *ardlididu* 'was immersed' [for *atididu*] and *birdu* 'having fallen' [for *bildu*] in 1019 A. D., *negal-* 'fame' [for *negal-* in 1084 A. D. show *r* for / in forms showing syncope of intermediate syllables.

Literary forms with a similar *r* for / are the following; some of these are met with in the most ancient extant texts beside their originals with / :—

- erb-* 'to mouse' for *elb-*.
- ārdū* 'having been lowered' for *aldū*.
- targ-* 'to be lowered' for *talg-*,
- erdu* 'having risen' for *eldu*,
- kerbu* 'fat' for *kelbu*,
- kurg-* 'to become low' for *kilg-*,
- arlu* 'mud, clay, mire' for *al(a)lu*,
- arti* 'love' for *alti*,
- ärke* 'weeping' for *alke*,
- paru* 'time,' 'the sun' for *pol(a)du*,

All these occur only in forms where the vowel following original / has been syncopated; *nraſhu* which is a comparatively late form for *nejal* 'shade', is perhaps the only modern form in which the *r* corresponding to older / is retained to-day, the *r* in others having been "absorbed" completely in modern forms like *paoldu* 'time', *biddu* 'having fallen', *eddu* 'having risen', *addu* 'having wept', etc.

(ii) Middle and modern Kann. forms like *č̄lu* 'seven', *ali* 'to destroy', *kōli* 'fowl', *hulu* 'worm', *bale* 'plantain tree' show the change of / to /, occurring also in certain regional and communal colloquials of Tamil and in Mal. *appol*, *ippol*, etc.

TELUGU.

The chief sound-correspondences are (i) pre-literary inscriptional / (ii) literary / (iii) literary *r* in accent-shifted forms where *r* forms a consonant group with the initial consonant, (iv) / in one instance showing accent-shift and aphaeresis.

(i) Even if it is disputed that the inscriptional *cōla* 'cōla,' *č̄lu* 'seven' and a few others may have been due to the influence

of Kannada vocabulary during the period of the CāJakyas when some of these inscriptions were composed, the form *lāyy-* 'to be destroyed' [corresponding to *ali* of Tamil and Kann.], showing as it does the aphaeresis consequent on accent-shift so peculiar to Telugu (and not at all common in Tamil or Kann.), raises the presumption that the sound *l* may have existed in pre-literary Telugu at least in some forms if not in all those corresponding to Tam. and Kann. words with *l*.

(ii) Tel. φ corresponding to *l* appears mostly in words which have not suffered accent-shift; but in *debbadi* 'seventy' [Tam. *elubadu*], *di-g-* 'to descend' [Tam. *il-*], φ appears in accent-shifted forms also.

The correspondence of Tel. φ=Tam., Kann. *l* is regular in as many as twelve instances in the table above.

(iii) Tel. *r* for *l* is mostly found in accent-shifted forms where *r* and the initial consonant become juxtaposed (on account of the suppression of the vowel of the first syllables) so as to constitute consonant-groups.

All the forms of this set are derivative, as shown by the presence of suffixal morphemes and by accent-shift and suppression of syllables.

(iv) In at least two Tel. forms, *l* corresponds to *l*:—

lē-c 'to rise'—*elū*
lālini 'endurance'—*lālmāi*.

The equation therefore for Tel. is the following:—

l=inscriptive *l*, literary φ, *r*, *l*

TULU.

The folk-dialect of Tuļu employs *r* corresponding to *l*, while the Brahmins' sub-dialect uses *l* (as in Kannada). The former perhaps is connected with the change of *l* to *r* in old Kannada (see above) which change was not only preserved in Tuļu forms like *parṇdu* 'ripe fruit', *ari* 'grief', *er-p-* 'to raise', *arti* 'love', *purg-* 'to boil' *furi* 'obeisance' [Kann. *tulū*], *kirdu* 'inferior' but also extended to forms in which syncope has failed to occur, as in folk-Tuļu *kōri* 'fowl', *iri* 'to drop' [Tam., Kann. *il-i*], *puri* 'worm', *bār-* 'to fall' [Kann. *bil-i*], *kari-* 'to be finished' [Kann. *kal-i-*], *ori-p-* 'to be left over' [Kann. *ol-i-*, *ul-i-*].

The latter viz. *l* for *l* occurs in both the sub-dialects in a few words like *elū* 'seven' [but folk-speech *erpa* 'seventy'], *halu*

'waste' [cf. modern Kann. *kūlu*], and in the Brahmins' sub-dialect in many forms, for which the folk-Tulu shows *r* [=ʃ], as in *kōli* 'owl', *kaṭi*- 'to be finished', *pōḍu* 'time', *bāṭe* 'plantain tree', *būl*- 'to fall', though even the Brahmins employ only forms with *r* in *parudu* 'ripe fruit', *nirelu* 'shade' [cf. modern Kann. *nēralu*, older *nēlal*].

It is interesting to note that Tulu *kōndu* 'tender stalk of coconut' [Tam., Mal. *kōṇḍu*], *cārī*, *tārī*, *lāṭa* 'coconut tree' [cf. old Tam. *tōṭai* 'coconut tree' in *Purāṇāṅgū*, verse 17], *tarkōṭi* 'key' [cf. Tam. *tālakkōṭi*, *tōṭkkōṭi*], *murku* 'completely' [cf. Tam. *muṭuka*] have (so far as I can see) counterparts with *l* only in Tam.-Mal and not in Kannada.

V.

INTER-DIALECTAL SOUND-CORRESPONDENCES.

Tam.	Mal.	Kann.	Tel.	Tulu	Kit.	Gōḍi.	Kor. kh.	Mallo.	Brāhma.
<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l, r, ḥ</i>	<i>ḍ, r, l</i>	<i>r, l</i>	<i>r, ḫ, ṛ</i>	<i>r, ṛ</i>	<i>l, y,</i> [æ], <i>r</i>	<i>l, y,</i> [æ]	<i>r</i>

VI.

UNIQUE *l* IN TAMIL.

I give below a list of words which show *l* only in Tamil or in Tam. and in Mal. For unique *l* in other speeches, see I above.

elud- 'to paint', 'to write'.—M.

elili 'cloud'

elil 'beauty'

alal 'foot', etc.—M.

kalum- 'to increase', etc.

hilakku 'east'.—M. The base is *hi* 'below' [cf. my Aryan paper on the cardinal directions in QJMS].

It is interesting to note that in *kāvi* *hi* means 'below' and 'east' while *kui* is both 'top' and 'west'.

hilamai 'claim, right', 'day of the week'.—old M. 'day of the week'

hilavay 'owner', connected with the above.

hulandai 'child'

hulamai 'child'

- kñlñt*, *knñlm* 'heap'
knñl 'to be curled'.—cf. *knñl-*
kolundu 'tender sprout'.—Mal.—ct. also Tuju *korndu*
 and Göndi *kers*. 'to sprout out'
kolunag 'husband'.—ct. *ko-*
kñlal 'jumping'
ñl 'pus'.—cf. M. *ñl*
talal 'fire'
toñ 'cattle pen'.—M. *toluttu*
tolngi 'multitude'
valnig-, *valne-*
pañdu 'defect'.—M.
pñai- 'to do wrong', 'to be emancipated' > 'to get up in
 life', 'to live'.—M.
pñl 'owl'.—cf. *pñl* 'bird'
meñi 'word, statement'.—M.
ññl 'day' for *ññl*
pñl-vñy for *pern-vñy* 'big mouth'
mañu 'axe'.—M.—cf. also Tuju *meñu* and Göndi *mars*.
pñi- 'to be showered'.—M.—cf. Kann. *poyy-* 'to pour',
 Tel. *poy-*, and Tam.—Mal. *pñy-* 'to pour, as rain'
meñi 'ploughtail'.—M.—cf. Kann. *meñi*, Tel. *meñi*.
muñr-kk- 'to grow ripe'.—M.—cf. Kann., Tuju, Tel.
mugg-
muñu 'whole'.—M.
vilé 'festival'.—old Mal.
vilumai 'prosperity'
uñl 'place', also a locative ending.—cf. *uñl*
ulucam 'ant'
uñuvap 'tiger'
uñ- 'to grow mature'
keñnum- 'to be full, ripe'
keñi 'friendship'.—cf. *kiñat*
cañan- 'to be loose'
uñl 'fault', 'pride', etc.
uñil 'slaughter'.—cf. *naru-k*.
pñrañ 'to be irregular'

The *l* of some of these words may be quite ancient, being connected with *l* of primaries, while in others the sound may have been derivative. The possibility of some instances of *l* having

been a derivative from other sounds is suggested not only by the occurrence of instances in each of the dialects with unique / not met with in other dialects but also by the adaptation of certain IA sounds as / in Tamil and Kannada *tadbhavas*. A few among the Tamil words with unique / (in the above list) may have been even "disguised" adaptations of Sanskrit *tadbhavas*. It should, however, be clearly borne in mind that the possibility of some instances of / having had a secondary origin separately in Tamil, Mal. and Kann. need not militate against the conceivable postulate that / may have existed originally as a common Dr. sound in at least a few other words, even in those speeches which do not now show /.

VII

THE SOUND L IN ADAPTATIONS FROM INDO-ARYAN.

Tamil.

IA d:—*nd̥i* 'a period of 24 minutes'

pūḍi 'sacred ashes'—*dust*—<*phṛdi* < IA *bhr̥iti*—cf. Tel. *budi*

IA g:—*ng̥ai* 'dawn'—IA *ng̥a*

śn̥utti 'sleep'—IA *susuppi*
kānūl 'to be stirred in mind'—IA *kaln̥sa*
śēlam 'sesa'—IA *śēṣa*
anuśam 'an asterism'—IA *anur̥sa*
khyālām 'decoction'—IA *kash̥oya*

IA l [through MIA /]:—

śelūgam 'leech'—IA *jalūka*
tuḍy 'basil plant'—IA *tulasi*
śōlai—IA *śālā*

IA r [mostly of consonant groups]:—

anuḍdam 'meclar'—IA *amṛta*
kaḷ 'seed'—IA *karsa*
kōḷ 'blackness' has been compared to IA *kala*; but this word along with its cognates Kann. *kkal*, *kal-tale* 'darkness' may be directly related to the base-group *kayu*, *kar-* 'black' represented in most Dravidian dialects [JMU]

Malayalam.

Many of the Tamil adaptations with / are met with in Mal.; in addition, the following may also be noted:—

taikkī [TAS, III, p. 25]—IA *sakṣi*
ira[cc- [VAS, III, p. 165]—IA *rakṣ-*
fōcam 'evil' [TAS, III, p. 216 inscriptional].—IA *dosa*
lakkaṇḍai 'Lakṣmaṇa'
kirill.—IA *kṛṣṇi*
poṇtti 'work'.—IA *pravṛtti*
mali 'blackness' *ink'*—IA *māsi*
tandōlam 'gladness'—IA *santōṣa*
kalāyam 'decoction'—IA *kṛṣayā*

Kannada.

Sūtras 21, 257 and 281 of the 13th century grammar Śabda-maṇi-darpaṇa deal with l in adaptations from IA.

IA *t, th, d̪:*—*gatige* 'a period of 24 minutes' [IA *ghatikā*]

dāli 'assault' [IA *dhōti*]
lālam [IA *lāṭam*]
happala [IA *pṛatīla*]
okṣōla
piśige 'seat', 'preface' [IA *pītikā*]
uvalaka 'small religious abode' [IA *mathikā*]
uḍi 'period of 24 minutes' [IA *uḍdi*]

IA *t̪:*—*aguli* 'bott', 'bar' [IA *argala*]

māṇnati [IA *māṇyaṭi*]
ga[ay]- 'to chatter' [IA *gat̪ha*]

IA *r̪:*—*palihattam* <*prati-hastān* 'each hand'

palipāvuge <*prati-pādūka* 'each shoe'

prati- appears also as *padī-* in Kann., as in MIA, and so
 of Kann. adaptations was perhaps directly evolved
 from *d̪*

bāḍūñk, *bāḍūñk-*, *bāḍuk* 'to increase', 'to prosper' 'to
 live' [cf. Tel. *bāḍuk-*], ultimately connected with
vāl- 'to prosper' of Tam., Mal. and Kann. [*bāl-*],
 seem to be very ancient adaptations of IA *vardhī*!

1. Kannada *pēl* 'to speak' and Tam. *pēi-* are certainly related; but the inter-connection is not clear. It may be suggested that the forms are ancient adaptations of IA *bhāṣā* with l in Kannada for s and ś in Tamil [cf. the Tam. adaptations *pāśai*, *pālai* and *pāḍai* for IA *bhāṣā*]; but the vowel -e- cannot be explained with reference to g of the IA word.

Generally speaking, it may be said that in south Dravidian adaptations with / of IA words, / stands for the cerebral consonants of IA, though in instances like Tam. *tuṇṭi* for IA *dhvanti* and Mal. variant *cūḍa* for *cūḍa* [IA *sūḍa*], IA cerebrals are not involved.

VIII.

L AND ITS RELATIVES.

The question of the history of the sound and its relationships to the cognate sounds particularly of central Indian and north Indian Dravidian dialects does not admit of a ready or easy answer in view of the complete absence of materials illustrative of the past stages of the non-southern dialects and of the past history of the southern literary speeches beyond a certain limit. One treads on delicate ground in dealing with the problem even while outlining perspectives; but the different aspects have to be stated:—

(a)

The following features may point to the existence, in pre-literary Telugu, of at least some instances of L-words; one has, however, to remember the caution that not all Tel. cognates of L-words need necessarily have had an original / and that some instances of unique / may have been independent developments in the dialects concerned.

(i) The inscriptions instances of Tel., showing / in words with the characteristic Tel. accent-shift, do raise the presumption that / occurred in Tel. at a pre-literary period.

(ii) The literary cognates in Tel. of Tamil and Kann. words with / are, many of them, derivative, as indicated by the presence of the suffixes and by the accent shift.

(b)

đ in Telugu appears to have occurred mostly in words which did not suffer accent-shift; but *ḍayy-* = *layy-*; *ḍi-g-* 'to descend' = *ili*; *ḍebbadī* 'seventy' = *elbadu* are instances of this change in accent-shifted forms.

r occurs mostly in accent-shifted forms in which the r forms a consonant group with the initial consonant.

If Śrinān Śarma's reading of the inscriptional *ṭhōñadypu* [later *prōñadypu*] is correct, this is an instance in which original / itself is involved in the accent-shift.

In a few Tel. forms without accent-shift, *z* represents */*:—
 Tel. *kozru* 'ploughshare' = Tam. *kozru*; *payyugu* 'worm' = Tam. *puda*;
 Tel. *koyal* 'to shine' = inscriptional Tel. *koyal-* [Addanici inscription] (if Sarma's suggestion of the meaning is accepted).

l in Tel. *le-c-* may have cropped up through the intermediate stage */*; but for this we have no proof yet.

Whether *r* in old Kannada variants like *erd-* beside *eld-* 'having risen', *bird-* beside *bild-* 'having fallen', *korbin* beside *koſbu* 'fat' was connected in some way with the Tel. *r* or whether it was only a parallel sound in Kannada (note, however, that there is no conspicuous accent-shift in the Kannada forms as in Telugu) cannot now be determined.

The Tuju *r* is probably connected with the Kannada, as in instances like Tuju *erj-* 'to raise' [Kann. *erb-* beside *elb-*], *arte* [Kann. *arte*, *alte*], etc., but it seems to have been extended in folk Tuju to instances like *kari* 'pit' [Kann. *kuſi*], *kari* 'to be finished' [Kann. *kaſi*] in which no syncope of syllables was active.

The change of *I* > */* in the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuju is perhaps parallel to the Middle Kannada change of older */* to *I*.

(c)

As for the central Indian and northern dialects, nothing absolutely definite can be laid down.

The divergence of the sounds in Kni, Gōṇḍī, Kurukkī and Malto corresponding to */* is striking.

IX.

The results of my inquiry may be summed up thus:—(a) The sound */* occurs in Tamil and Mal. from the earliest known stages down to the present day, in old Kannada, in pre-literary inscriptional Telugu and in Badaga (as an old sound and as a new development). Some of these speeches reveal a few unique instances of */* which are derivative from other sounds.

(b) In phonation, the sound is a "continuant" cerebral, as recognized expressly by the old indigenous grammars of Mal. and Kannada and impliedly by some of the rules of Tamil grammars.

(c) The inter-dialectal sound-correspondences would stand thus:—Tam. *l*=communal coll. Tam. *l*=Mal. *l*=old Kann. *l* (and

r)—Middle and Modern Kann. *l*=inscriptional Tel. *l*=literary Telugu *q*, *r*, *t*=Tulu *r* (and Brahmins' sub-dialect *l*)—Kui *r*, *q*, *l*—Görḍi *r*, *r*=Kuṭ. *l*, *y* (and *cc*)—Brāhūi *r*.

(d) Even while recognizing that on the one hand some instances of *l* in Tamil, Mal. and Kann. may have been secondarily derived separately in these speeches from other sounds (cf. the treatment of IA sounds), and on the other hand that not all Telugu cognates of *l*- words of Tamil-Kannada need have had an original *l*, one has to admit that at least a few words with *l* may have been common in south Dravidian.

PRTHIVIPATI I, VARAGUNA AND APARAJITA.

BY

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA,

Madras.

[In spite of all that has been written so far, the date of the battle of Śripurambiyam still remains an unsolved problem. Scholars have assigned A. D. 880 to that event, basing on the last date of the Ganga prince, Prthivipati I. But unfortunately this basis is shaky, since it is purely conjectural. An impartial scrutiny of all the relevant facts is therefore necessary, especially in the light of recent additions to our material.]

It was Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil who, first stated that the latest known date of Prthivipati I is A. D. 879. As early as 1917, he wrote in his "Pallavas" that the latest inscription of the reign of Prthivipati I is dated A. D. 879, without citing the inscription itself or any other authority.¹ He naturally concludes that the battle of Śripurambiyam must have been fought some time after that date. All the scholars, who have written about the history of the Pallavas and the battle of Śripurambiyam merely followed the doctor, without questioning the authority for his statement, and have accepted the date given by him. In their opinion, the battle of Śripurambiyam took place sometime about 879-880 A. D.²

The fact that a battle was fought at Śripurambiyam is mentioned in the Udayendiram plates³ of Prthivipati II Hastimalla, issued in the 15th year, i.e., A. D. 921 of Maduraikonda Parakēsari-

1. G. J. Dubreuil—"The Pallavas", pp. 65 and 82.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

R. Gopalan—"The Pallavas", p. 142.

Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri—"The Cōlas", p. 130.

3. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 380 ff.

varman Parāntaka I. These plates state that Prthivipati I, the ally of the Pallava king Aparājita, defeated the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa and lost his life in the course of that fight, "having made his friend's title Aparājita significant". Hence, it is concluded that Prthivipati, who was the son of the Gāṅga king Śivamāra, died in A. D. 880.

Prthivipati I, according to the same authority, was the son of Śivamāra of the Gāṅga family, which is "said to have had for its ancestor the Sage Kapva". Hence, Śivamāra is identical with Śivamāra II, son of the Western Gāṅga king Śripuruṣa Muttarāśa, who, according to his regnal and Saka year mentioned in his own grants¹, should be taken to have ascended the throne in A. D. 726². The donor of the Udayēndiram plates is Prthivipati II, son of Mārasimha and grandson of Prthivipati I. Curiously enough none of the Western Gāṅga records mention this Prthivipati or his descendants. They on the other hand, make Mārasimha, the son of Śivamāra II, The Ālūr grant³ of A. D. 799 and the Manpe plates⁴ of 797 record gifts made by Mārasimha, while he was yet a Yuvarāja. Even this prince is not heard of in any other copper plate, or stone record of the Western Gāṅgas, the reason being perhaps his early death, even while yet a crown prince or Yuvarāja. Prthivipati I also appears in a Bāṇa inscription⁵ at Tiruvallam, where he was mentioned as the father of Vāṇamahādevi, wife of Vāṇavidyādhara. Thus, the existence of Prthivipati I⁶ and Mārasimha, alleged to be the sons

1. Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Mg. 36.

Ep. Carn., Vol. IV, Ng. 85.

2. In my paper on 'The Chronology of the later Pallavas' I have given the date A. D. 725, by counting his regnal years as expired ones; but it is wrong. They have to be taken as current.

3. Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1924, p. 72.

4. Ep. Carn., Vol. IX, Nl. 60.

5. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 92.

6. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 248. The Udayēndiram plates state that Prthivipati I rendered assistance to two chiefs, named Iriga and Nāgadanta, the sons of king Dīnḍi, and defended the former of these two against king Amoghavarṣa (A. D. 814-15 to 876-77). Now, in an epitaph of Ariṣṭanēmi at Sravana Belgola, occurs one Dīnḍika, whom Mr. R. Narasimha chariar identified with king Dīnḍi of the Udayēndiram plates.

of Śivamāra II, is revealed by the Udayēndiram plates, the Tiruvallam inscription, Manne plates and the Alūr grant.

Śripuruṣa's rule ends with A. D. 775, if 50, the latest regnal year supplied by his own grants, is taken as the last year of his rule. On the other hand if Śripuruṣa Muttaraśa of the lithic record¹ dated Śaka 710 from Halkur, Sirā taluq, is identical with the Western Gāṅga king Śripuruṣa Muttaraśa, as is contended by some scholars, then A. D. 788 would be the last year of his rule. Of the two, whichever date is accepted, there is a difference of nearly a century between the last years of Śripuruṣa and Pr̥thivipati, the grandfather and grandson respectively, which seems to be quite extraordinary. Could there be generally such an abnormal difference between grandfather and grandson, i.e., only for two generations? I am aware of a few such instances. As a matter fact, the history of the later Pallavas provides us with an example of this kind. The lithic and copper plate records of three consecutive generations of Pallava kings from Nandivarman II to Nandivarman III show that the interval between the last regnal years of these two monarchs is more than a century. But one must admit that such cases are very rare. In this case no such evidence exists. The Udayēndiram plates — our only authority on the subject — mention three generations of the Gāṅga kings, without giving any indication of the length of each king's reign or the total duration of their rule. Until some fresh evidence is forthcoming to indicate the probable length of the intervening period between Śripuruṣa and Pr̥thivipati, the date 880 cannot be assigned with certainty to the battle of Śripurambiyani, and cannot be accepted as the last date of Pr̥thivipati I, son of Śivamāra II.

He writes in the Mysore, Archaeological Report for 1909-10 as follows: "My identification has since been approved by Dr. Hultzsch, who now takes Dindika as the actual name of the son of Śivamāra II and Pr̥thivipati as an epithet". Really it is beyond my comprehension how Dr. Hultzsch identifies Dindika (or Dindi) with Pr̥thivipati I, son of Śivamāra II. The Udayēndiram plates, as I understand them, do not allow or support such an identification.

1. Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1918, p. 44.

The same kind of abnormality will become evident, if this question is reviewed from another point of view with the help of the Takkōlam inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, dated in his 24th regnal year. No scholar entertains any doubt regarding the identity of Rājakēsarivarman of this record with Aditya I. With the help of this record, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanyā Aiyar fixes A. D. 870-71 as the year of Aditya's accession to the throne, having selected one of the two dates 894 and 895, both of which satisfy the astronomical details mentioned in the record. There being no solar eclipse in the month of Ānu for several years running, no date satisfies the astronomical details mentioned in that record between 895 and 907, the latter being the date of Parāntaka's accession to the throne. Although the date A. D. 885 also answers the details satisfactorily, Mr. Subrahmanyā Aiyar rejects it as it would give Aditya a long reign of 45 years (from 862 to 907), assuming that his rule came to an end before the commencement of his son's reign in 907 A. D. On the same assumption, he could not select a suitable date after 907.

Pritipatiyār, the son of Māramarīyar, whose gift is registered in the Takkōlam record¹, has been identified with Pr̥thivipati II, son of Mārasirhha. This identification has been approved of by all scholars. So then, the interval between Pr̥thivipati I and his grandson Pr̥thivipati II, is only fourteen or fifteen years, if the years 880 and 894 or 895 are accepted as the dates of Pr̥thivipati I's death and of the Takkōlam record respectively. The latter date cannot be rejected, since it satisfies the astronomical details mentioned therein. So the mistake can only be with the date 880. The acceptance of this date (A. D. 880) involves the prolongation to an abnormal length, of the intervening period between Sripuruṣa and Pr̥thivipati I and reduction to its narrowest limits of the intervening period between Pr̥thivipati I and Pr̥thivipati II. These apparent abnormalities are the outcome of the acceptance of A. D. 880 as the correct date of the battle of Śripurambiyam in which Pr̥thivipati I lost his life. Therefore, A. D. 880 cannot be accepted without fresh confirmatory evidence, as the correct date of the battle of Śripurambiyam, or of the death of Pr̥thivipati I.

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 81.

II

How was this date 880 assigned to Prthivipati I? As has been noted already, Dr. Dubreuil did not cite any authority for his statement¹. Mr. Gopalan, the author of "The Pallavas", also takes it for granted that Prthivipati I lived until 880, the date assigned by him to the battle of Śripurambiyam.² But he cites two undated inscriptions³ of the last year of rule (*i.e.*, 26th regnal year) of Nṛpatunga from Āmbūr, to show that Prthivipati I was alive until the last year of Nṛpatunga's rule. These inscriptions record the death of a servant of Pirudigāngarāyar when the ruler of Nujambappādi attacked Āgmaiyyūr. Mr. Gopalan accepts the view of Dr. Hultzsch, the editor of these inscriptions, that Pirudigāngarāyar, mentioned therein is no other than Prthivipati I. But until and unless the accession date of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla is determined, there is no possibility of ascertaining the English date equivalent of the 26th year of rule of Nṛpatunga. It seems that Dr. Dubreuil has arrived at the date 879 by accepting Dr. Hultzsch's identification and by taking 717 A. D. as the initial year of rule of Nandivarman II.

But let us see if the date of the Āmbūr records of Nṛpatunga could be determined in any other way. An inscription⁴ from Mallum, Nellore District, of the 15th regnal year of Nandivarman II records a gift of gold for the maintenance of a lamp, made by the people of Peyyürkōṭṭjam, the headmen of the villages and the members of the assemblies acting as the āgatis

1. I do not know if Dr. Dubreuil followed Gopinatha Rao, who tentatively took A. D. 878 as the last date for Prthivipati I in his paper on 'Six Pallava Inscriptions', published in the Journal of the South Indian Association, 1910, (Oct.). Gopinatha Rao cited as his authority, the table given on page 59 of Ep. Ind., Vol. VI. This table, to which he refers, was given by Dr. Fleet, while editing "Three Western Gāṅga Records in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore"—(Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 40 ff.). Dr. Fleet, according to his own crucial tests, examined the Western Gāṅga records and formulated a geneological table (given on page 59), wherein he roughly noted the period of rule of each king. He placed "Aparājita Prthivipati", son of Sivamāra II ("about 805-810") "in the period 814-15 to 878-9".

2. R. Gopalan—"The Pallavas", p. 142.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 182-83.

4. Nel. Ins., Vol. I, Gudur, 54, p. 429,

or the executors of Cājukīraśar, on the petition of an Ājuparaśar, I agree with Dr. N. Venkataramanayya¹ in identifying the Cājukīraśar with Vikramāditya II, and of Ājuparaśar with his Ājupa subordinate. On the strength of these identifications, it is easy to conclude that the invasion of Vikramāditya II had taken place in the 15th year of rule of Nandivarman II. A.D. 733 and 746 being the initial and the last years of the rule of Vikramāditya II, the 15th regnal year of Nandivarman II should fall within that period. Thus Nandivarman's initial year of rule must fall between the year 719, if his 15th year coincides with 733 and 732, if that year coincides with 746, reckoning the regnal years as current. If they are taken to be expired years, it falls between 718 and 731. So, the date of Āmbūr records would be either 880 or 883 as the regnal years are reckoned as current or expired. Thus the dates 880 and 883 are the lowest limits to which Nrpatunga's reign could go, if we calculate from 719 or 718. Thus it has to be recognised that it is impossible to take the end of Nrpatunga's reign earlier than A.D. 880. Perhaps it has to be placed even later. It follows from this that the 26th year of Nrpatunga coincides with at least A.D. 880 or more probably with a date still later. Since Prthivipati mentioned in the Āmbūr records of Nrpatunga's 26th regnal year i.e., A.D. 880 (possibly later), and Prthivipati II, son of Māravarāyar mentioned in the Takkōlam record (assigned to 894 or 895 A.D.) are separated from each other only by a short interval of about 15 years, it is not unreasonable to hold that they are identical. If this identification be accepted, it is impossible that the battle of Śripurambiyam could have been fought in A.D. 880. Therefore, this date has to be rejected.

As a matter of fact, I have taken into account the Bāṇa inscription² from Tiruvallam. As this inscription which is dated Śaka 810, contains no reference to the Pallava over-lord of Kāñcī, I believe with Dr. Hultzsch and others, that the Bāṇas ruled independently, perhaps from the time of Vijayāditya II Prabhūmēra, son of Vikramāditya I Bāṇavidyādhara Jayamēra, who remained a subordinate of Nandivarman III and his son Nrpatunga.³

1. Ante, Vol. VIII, p. 3.

2. S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 44, p. 95.

3. This is indicated by the Tiruvallam inscription of the 17th year of Nandivarman III (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 92, No. 43).

In my scheme of 'the later Pallava Chronology' I have taken into account figures, indicating the latest regnal years of the Pallava kings that are mentioned in their inscriptions. As the latest regnal year of Nṛpatunga, found in his inscriptions is 26, his date of accession to the throne was fixed in A. D. 862 by subtracting 26 from A. D. 888. But strictly the number that has to be subtracted is 25 and not 26, for, if the latter figure is taken into account, it implies that those regnal years are expired ones, i.e., they are counted from the expiry of the first year of rule. This does not seem to have been the usual Indian practice even in ancient times. It was and is customary to count the first year of the reign of any king from the first day of his accession to the throne and not from the date of its expiry. This is well illustrated by the chronology of the Eastern Cālukyās of Vēṅgi.¹ Therefore it is proper to reckon the regnal years as current in settling the chronology of the later Pallavas. I, therefore, revise my scheme of their chronology, as shown below²:—

and by the Gudimallam inscription of the 23rd year of Nṛpatunga (Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 224 ff.). Thus I proved that A. D. 888 must be the last year of the rule of Nṛpatunga in my paper, on "The Chronology of the later Pallavas".

1. *Ante.* Vol. IX, pp. 17-45.

2. This revised scheme makes it evident that I do not adhere any more to the evidence of the Kuliśikī inscription of the 52nd regnal year of Nandivarman II, which was the basis of my former scheme, worked out from the point of view of the history of the Western Gāngas of Talakād. I recognise now that that inscription does not yield the interpretation, which I have forced on it.

But yet, I adhere to the date A. D. 775 as the last year of the rule of Sripurusa Muttarasa, the Western Gāṅga king. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya accepts A. D. 788 as the last date of that king but yet identifies Gōvinda, who anointed Śivamāra II to the throne, with Gōvinda III, son of Dhruva Dhāravarṣa. Let us see if this identification is tenable.

Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa I ruled till A. D. 772, if not longer (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 121 ff.). Govinda II, his eldest son, succeeded him on the throne. This fact is proved by the two undated lithic records from Challakere (Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Cl. 33 and 34).

Nandivarman II	...	... A. D. 727 — 791
Dantivarman	...	... " 791 — 841
Nandivarman III	...	... " 841 — 863
Nṛpatuṅga	...	... " 863 — 888

If this scheme is accepted, then the difference between A. D. 888, the date of the Āmbūr records of Nṛpatuṅga, and 894 or 895 the date of the Takkōlam inscription of Āditya I, diminishes to six or seven years. Therefore, the identity proposed in a former context, of Pr̄thivipati mentioned in the former records with

which mention Gōvinda II with all his royal titles. He was the ruler of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom even in A. D. 779. The Dhūlia plates of Karka, dated 779 A. D. (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 182 ff.) definitely state that the then-reigning king was Gōvinda II. Although Dhruva, his younger brother was issuing charters in his own name much earlier than A. D. 779 (Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 85 ff.), it has to be supposed that the entire Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom did not come into his possession till after A. D. 779. Dhruva was still the ruling sovereign, when the Daulatabad plates were issued in A. D. 793 by Samarāvalōka Saṅkaragāṇa, son of Nanna, with the express consent of his over-lord Kalivallabha Narēndradēva or Dhruva Nirupama. The earliest charter of Gōvinda III, namely his Paithan grant, is dated Śaka 716 or A. D. 794. As a matter of fact his Maṇye plates (Jour. Myth. Soc., Vol. XIV, p. 88 ff.) give the Śaka year together with his regnal year. They were issued in Śaka 732 in the 18th year of his reign. So, it is beyond doubt that he came to the throne in A. D. 792-3. It is thus clear that Dhruva, the father of Gōvinda III was ruling till that date.

The date A. D. 788 of Śripuruṣa Muttaraśa falls during the reign of Dhruva but not of his son, Gōvinda III. During the reign of Dhruva, Sivamāra II was in prison. If he was anointed to the throne, it should have been immediately after the death of Śripuruṣa Muttaraśa. If his death is taken to have occurred in A. D. 788, there is no Gōvinda, who could have acted as the crowned king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line who anointed Sivamāra II. Therefore, Gōvinda of the Alūr and the Maṇye grants of Mārasimha has to be identified with Gōvinda II, and not with Gōvinda III. Thus, if it is admitted that the anointment was done by Gōvinda II, then the date A. D. 788 as Śripuruṣa's last year has to be rejected (*Vide*, My paper on—'The Chronology of the later Pallavas' in the Commemoration Volume of Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurri Pantulu's 70th birth day celebration).

Prthivipati II of the latter record, becomes a certainty. Hence 880 cannot be the last date of Prthivipati I or of the date of the battle of Sriperumbiyam. This event should necessarily have taken place earlier still, since Prthivipati I must have lived long before his grandson Prthivipati II, the vassal of Nripatunga. In that case, who could be the Varaguna mentioned in the Udayendiram plates of Prthivipati II as being the vanquished Pāṇḍya opponent of Aparajita?

III

The early history of the Pāṇḍyas is being reconstructed mainly with the help of four copper-plate grants, namely (1) the Vēlakkudi grant¹, (2) the Bigger Śingamapūr plates², (3) the Madras Museum plates³, (4) and the Smaller Śingamapūr plates⁴,

Thus, the present scheme does not contradict or disturb what I have written from "the Rāṣṭrakūṭa point of view". The Dhālia plates escaped my notice when I was writing my previous paper. These plates extend the reign of Gōvinda II from A. D. 772 to at least A. D. 779. Dhruva must have been in possession of his paternal kingdom about 779 or 780 A. D., instead of in 775, as has been stated in my previous paper. So the change in the chronology does not affect in any way the points, which I have brought to bear on this question while dealing with it from "the Rāṣṭrakūṭa point of view".

Even though the consideration of the chronology of the later Pallavas "from the point of view of the history of the Gāṅgas" is thus set aside, yet I have the satisfaction that that section helps the reader much in the elucidation of the Gāṅga, Pallava and Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations, during the reign of Śripuruṣa Muttarasa.

The tentative chronology of the Bāṇas also, given in the section, entitled 'the Bāṇa point of view' in my previous paper, requires a little modification as shown below:—

Nandivarman .. .	A. D. 788 — 802
Vijayāditya .. .	" 802 — 839
Malladēva .. .	" 839 — 857
Bāṇavīdyādhara Jayamēru	
Vikramāditya I .. .	" 857 — 888
Vijayāditya II Prabhūmēru .. .	" 888 — 910

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 291 ff.
2. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 441 ff.
3. Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII, p. 57 ff.
4. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 441 ff.

besides a few lithic records of the Pāṇḍya kings. The Smaller Śiṅgamāṇūr inscription is incomplete, since some of the plates are missing. The language of these grants is partly Sanskrit and partly Tamil. Both the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions describe the pedigree of the donors.

The Smaller Śiṅgamāṇūr plates contain only two verses in Sanskrit, of which one is an invocation to god Puruṣottama and the other a benediction on Candravarṇa, in which the Pāṇḍya kings were born. The Tamil portion of the extant plates furnishes only three generations of kings, viz., Jayanta, Māravarman who had the titles Arikesari, Asamasaman etc., and his son, who was the victor in the battles at Marudūr and Kuvalajimalai, whose name is not known owing to the loss of plates. Though the Sanskrit portion of the Madras Museum plates gives two generations of kings, Māravarman the Pallavabhañjana, and his son Jaṭilavarman without describing their achievements, the Tamil portion mentions only the donor of the plates, Nedūñjadaiyan (who is identical with Jaṭila of the Sanskrit portion), and recounts all his titles, the battles he had won, and the kings he had defeated. This grant was issued in the 17th year of his rule. Thus the importance of the first two of the above mentioned grants, namely the VēlviKKudi and the Bigger Śiṅgamāṇūr plates, which give a more complete pedigree, extending over larger number of generations than the Madras Museum or the Smaller Śiṅgamāṇūr plates, cannot be over estimated for purposes of the early history of the Pāṇḍyas. While the Tamil portion of the VēlviKKudi grant describes fully seven generations of kings, the Sanskrit portion mentions but four generations; and these are identical with the last four of the Tamil portion. Though the number of generations, described both in the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions of the Bigger Śiṅgamāṇūr plates is the same, the latter gives a fuller account than the former, of the first generation and of three out of the last four generations. The pedigree supplied by the Tamil and the Sanskrit portions of these two sets of plates are given below in a tabular form, for convenience of study.

VĒLVIKKUDI PLATES.	BIGGER S̄INNAMANUR PLATES.	
Tamil portion. Sanskrit portion.	Sanskrit portion. Tamil portion.	
I.* Kaduṅgōn (1)†		
II. Avanīcūjā- mani Māravarmaj (2)		
III. Sēliyag Vāgavān (3) Sēnday		
IV. Arikē s a r i Asam a s a- ma n (4) Māravarmaj IV. Māravar- man (4) (won a battle at Nelvēli)	VI. Arikēsari (4)	VI. P a rāñ- kuśa (4) (won a battle at Nelvēli)
V. Saḍaiyag (2) V. Raṇadhira (5) (won a vict- o r y a t Marūdūr; defeated the Mahārathās at Maṅga- lāpura.)	VII. Jatila (5)	VII. × (5)
VI. Māraṇ (6) VI. Māra v a r- (won a vic- tory at Koḍ- umbājūr; crushed the Pallava at Kulumbūr a n d a t Periyalūr; conquer e d Maṭa-Koṇ- gam and contracted relati on- ship with Gangarāja.)	VI. Māra v a r- man (6) Rājasimha (Defeat e d Pallava malla)	VIII. Rāja- simha (6)
	VIII. Rāja- simha (6)	

*The Roman figures indicate the genealogical scheme adapted by V. Venkayya and H. Krishna Sasri.

†The Arabic numerals indicate the genealogical scheme as reconstructed by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sasri.

VII. Parāntaka VIII. Parāntaka Neḍuñjadaī- yan (7)	taka Jaṭila (7)	IX. Varaguṇa IX. Varaguṇa (7) (7)
	(Defeated the Kāda- va king at Peñnāgā- dam. Donor; Issued the charter in his third regnal year.)	
X. Śrimāra (8) (conquered Māya Pāṇḍya, King of Śimhaṭa, the Pallava and the Vallabha)		X. Paracakrakōlahala (8) (Fought successful battles at Kunūr, Siṅgājam and Viśiñ- am; defeated the Gaṅ- ga, Pallava, Cōla etc. at Kuḍamūkkil)
XI. Varaguṇa. (9)	XII. Parāntaka XI. Varaguṇa. (10) (won a battle at Kharagiri)	XII. Parāntaka Viśanārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan. (Destroyed Peñ- nāgāḍam, fought at Kha- ragiri, Sen- nūlam etc.)
XIII. Rājasimha (11)		XIII. Rājasimha (11) (Defeated the lord of Tañjai) (Donor; Issued the charter in his 16th regnal year.)

MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES <i>Sanskrit portion. Tamil Portion</i>	SMALLER SINNAMANOR PLATE. <i>Tamil Portion.</i>
Māravarman Neđunđadaiyan (Pallavabhañ- jana) | Jatilavarman	Jayantavarman | Arikēsari Asamasamap | x (Won battles at Marudūr and Kuvalaimalai).
Nedunđadaiyan (Won vic- tories at Vīṇām, Sēlīyāk kudi and Vollore, de fe ated Adiyap and his enemy's allys Pall- ava and Kē rala; captu- red the king of western Kōngu, con- quer ed Āyiravēli on the northern bank of the river Kāv- ēri. Donor; Issued the charter in his 17th regnal year)	

Considerable difference of opinion exists among scholars about the correct method of combining the pedigrees, furnished by the Vēlvikkudi and the Bigger Sinnamanur plates, into a single continuous genealogy. The absence of any account of the first four kings of the Bigger Sinnamanur plates and of the name of Varaguṇa in the Vēlvikkudi plates, makes it difficult to identify the kings of one set with those of the other. This difficulty is further enhanced partly by the dearth of lithic records of these early kings to help us in verifying the results, and partly by the findings of the late V. Venkayya in his comparative study of the paleography of the grants. But the test of paleography is not infallible. The late H. Krishna Sastri, while editing the Vēlvikkudi and the Sinnamanur plates (Bigger and Smaller) differed from Venkayya as to the date of these records on the same grounds of paleography, but he adhered to the provisional genealogy of 13 generations given by him in the annual report on Epigraphy for 1908. No reconsideration was urged, nor any reconstruction attempted of the early

Pāndyan genealogy, until Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri came forth with a new scheme, reducing the old genealogy to eleven generations, in his history of "The Pāndyas". It is unnecessary for me to reiterate here his reasons for adopting such a scheme, or the criticism he levelled against Krishna Sastri's arguments in support of his scheme. He reviewed again the whole position regarding this question at greater length, in a paper recently contributed to the Journal of Indian History.¹

The adoption of the old scheme of thirteen generations involves an unnecessary duplication of Arīkēsaris, and triplication of Rājasimhas and Varaguṇas, including a Varaguṇa, who is a Mārañjādaiyaṇ; and we have also to assume two battles of Nelvēli, for which there is no warrant at all. This seems on the face of it incongruous. Of the four grants, so far discovered, the Smaller Singamapur plates being incomplete, should be left out of consideration. Of the remaining three, two grants, the Vēlvikkudi grant and the Madras Museum plates, which mention Māraṇ, alias Māgavarman Rājasimha, a contemporary of Pallavamalla, are silent about his title Arīkēsari. In this connection it has to be borne in mind that many lithic records of the early Pāndyas bring to light a Varaguṇa, who is a Mārañjādaiyaṇ (Sañaiyaṇ son of Māraṇ). If, on the strength of this evidence, Parāntaka, Jaṭila or Nedūñjādaiyaṇ, son of Māraṇ, alias Rājasimha, the seventh king of the Vēlvikkudi plates, is identified with Varaguṇa (1), son of Rājasimha, the fourth king of the Bigger Singamapur plates, then it is evident that both the sets agree well with each other and a combination of the pedigrees mentioned therein gives a complete genealogy of the early Pāndyas, from Kadūngōg to Rājasimha II, the last king of the dynasty, who was defeated and slain by the Cōla king Parāntaka I. These considerations urge me to accept the Professor's scheme, since it seems to be the only sound genealogical framework, into which the pedigrees given by the four grants could be conveniently and correctly fitted in.

Now, let us turn to chronology. The early Pāndya lithic records so far discovered, are not many in number. They belong to Parāntaka, Mārañjādaiyaṇ alias Pāndyakulādhipati Varaguṇa, Avanipaśegaran Śrivalluvan (*i.e.*, Śrivallabha), Sañaiya-māraṇ Śrivalluvan (*i.e.*, Śrivallabha and Sañaiyamāraṇ). Parān-

taka¹ has been accepted to be identical with Mārañjadaiyan, whose latest year of rule, known from his records is fortythree². Even though an inscription³ of a Pāndya king Avanipaśegarap, called Śiruvalluvap (*i.e.*, Śrivallabha) was discovered as early as 1904 at Sittappavāsal, his identity with any of the known Pāndya kings, mentioned either in the Vēlvikkuḍi or the Bigger Singamāṇūr plates could not be established until 1930, when he was rightly identified by the Epigraphy department with Śrivallabha Śrimāra Paracakrakōlāhala⁴. In that year, an inscription⁵ of Saḍaiyan Mārañ Śrivallabha, dated in his eighteenth regnal year was copied by the Madras Epigraphy Department at Erukkaṅguḍi (Śattūr taluq, Ramanad District). This inscription states that the king won victories in several battles from Kungūr to Śitgaḍam, both of which, Śrimāra Paracakrakōlāhala, son of Mārañjadaiyan (Varaguṇa I) is said to have conquered in the Bigger Singamāṇūr plates. The same Erukkaṅguḍi record recounts several acts of public good, done by Ētti Śāṭap, on whom the king conferred the title Iruppaikkudikilavan. Since Iruppaikkudikilavan is mentioned as the renewer of an embankment with a stone basement and the constructor of a sluice to a tank, thereafter known as Kilavāṇeyi, in a grant⁶ of Saḍaiyamāṇ of the sixteenth year of his rule, the latter is taken to be identical with Saḍaiyamāṇ Śrivallabha. On the strength of the aforesaid facts I identify Saḍaiyamāṇ, whose records bear evidence to his 46th year of rule⁷, with Śrimāra Paracakrakōlāhala, otherwise known as Avanipaśegarap Śiruvalluvap and Saḍaiyamāṇ Śrivallabha. Thus Saḍaiyamāṇ (Mārañ son of Saḍaiyan) becomes the son of Mārañjadaiyan (Saḍaiyan son of Mārañ).

There are some lithic records⁸ of Varaguna, which do not mention the name Mārañjadaiyan at all. Since Mārañjadaiyan is also known to be Varaguna, all these records are generally attributed to the former. I believe that this is wrong, because a

1. Ep. Coll., No. 454-1906; Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 317 ff.

2. Ep. Coll., No. 603-1915.

3. Ep. Coll., No. 368-1904.

4. Ep. Rep. for 1930, p. 74.

5. Ep. Coll., No. 334-1930.

6. Ep. Coll., No. 335-1930.

7. Ep. Coll., No. 440-1907.

8. Ep. Coll., Nos. 17-1907; 705-1905; 155-1903; 105-1905; 185-1926.

glance at the early Pāṇḍyan genealogical scheme makes it clear that a Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ may be a Varaguṇa; but all Varaguṇas are not Mārañjaḍaiyaṇs. Since most of the records of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ¹ mention him by that name, and only a few give him in addition, his other name Varaguṇa, it seems plausible to suggest that he prided more in calling himself Śadaiyan, son of his worthy father Māraṇ or Māravarmaṇ Rājasimha, the hero of many battles and the conqueror of many forts. Hence I attribute all these records, which do not mention the name Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ at all, to Varaguṇa II, son of Śrimāra Paracakrakolāhala, whose latest regnal year is known to be eighteen from his records.²

Thus the inscriptions, that have been brought to light so far represent three generations of the early Pāṇḍya kings, namely (1) Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ, alias Varaguṇa I (2) his son Śrimāra Śrivallabha Paracakrakolāhala and (3) his grandson Varaguṇa II. With these preliminary observations about the records of the early Pāṇḍyas let us proceed to consider their chronology.

Of the early Pāṇḍyan records, the Ānamalai inscription³ of Parāntaka, dated in the Kaliyuga year 3871 (A. D. 770) and the Aivarmalai inscription⁴ of Varaguṇa II of his eighth regnal year, dated Śaka 792 (A. D. 870), which yeilds A. D. 863 as the initial

1. It is possible to attribute some of the inscriptions of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ to Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa Śadaiyaṇ, provided it is not stated that Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ also bore the title Varaguṇa. But no record with a regnal year later than 25 or 30 can be attributed to him for the following reasons. We definitely know that Varaguṇa II's rule ended in A. D. 880. We also know that Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa's son Rājasimha II's reign must have come to an end at least by A. D. 920. Since the Bigger Sinnamāṇūr plates are issued in his 16th (14+2) regnal year it follows even assuming that Rājasimha II ruled for only 16 years ending with A. D. 920, that Viranārāyaṇa his father and brother of Varaguṇa II could not have ruled longer than 25 years commencing from A. D. 880. So it is clear that we cannot possibly attribute to him any record, dated in any regnal year higher than 25.

2. Ep. Coll., No. 185-1926.

The regnal year 32 (17-1907) given in Mr. V. Rangachari's topographical list of inscriptions of the Madras Presidency (Vol. II, Tanjore Dt., p. 128 No. 381) is wrong. It should be either 4 ([3]+1) or 14 ([13]+1).

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 317, ff.

4. Ep. Coll., No. 705-1905.

year of his rule, are very important in as much as they form the bedrock of the foundation, over which the edifice of the early Pāṇḍya chronology has to be raised. If the date A. D. 863 is taken to be the basis of our calculation, then, with the help of the latest regnal years known from the records of each king calculating backwards, we arrive at the dates A. D. 818 and A. D. 776 as the initial years of rule of Saḍaiya Māraṇ Śrivallabha and his father Mārañjadaiyan, alias Varaguña I respectively; and consequently A. D. 880 becomes the last year of the rule of Varaguña II. But since the date of Parāntaka's inscription is A. D. 770, this year should either coincide with the initial year of his rule or fall within his reign. We shall make an attempt to fix the initial year of his reign more definitely.

Fortunately we have two inscriptions with the name Mārañjadaiyan, dated in his 13th regnal year; one of them from Tiruveṭṭarai¹ and the other from Lālgudi². They furnish us with some details for calculation. The inscription from Tiruveṭṭarai records a gift of gold to the temple of Tiruvaggikal Perumānadigal at Tiruveṭṭarai by the king on Monday, Aśvati, in the month of Vṛścika, and the one from Lālgudi registers another gift, by the same king, on Tuesday, Satayam, in the month of Dhanus. Now the latest time limit, within which the English date-equivalent for the details mentioned in these two records, has to be found is A. D. 818, supposed to be the initial year of rule of Śrimāra Śrivallabha, son of Mārañjadaiyan. The earliest time-limit is A. D. 770, if it were to be taken as Mārañjadaiyan's initial year. Between these two dates, a date corresponding to the thirteenth year of Mārañjadaiyan should be found satisfying the details mentioned in the records of Tiruveṭṭarai and Lālgudi. The dates that satisfy the required conditions within this period are given below³:

DATE OF

Tiruveṭṭarai inscription.	Lālgudi inscription.
A.D. 780, Nov., 13th, Monday	780, Dec., 5th, Tuesday.
" 787, Oct., 29th, Monday	787, Dec., 18th, Tuesday.
" 790, Oct., 25th, Monday	790, Dec., 14th, Tuesday.

1. Ep. Coll., No. 84-1910.

2. Ep. Coll., No. 121-1928-29; Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 47.

3. According to L. D. Swami Kannan Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris'.

" 797, Nov., 6th, Monday	797, Nov., 28th, Tuesday,
" 807, Nov., 15th, Monday	807, Dec., 7th, Tuesday,
" 814, Oct., 30th, Monday	814, Dec., 19th, Tuesday,
" 817, Oct., 26th, Monday	817, Dec., 15th, Tuesday,

Out of these dates the second date must be left out of consideration; for if we accept it, it yields 775 as the initial year of rule of Mārañjadaiyan. Since he is known to have been ruling in A. D. 770, he could not have commenced his rule five years later. If however we recede a little from 787, the first date 780 satisfies all the conditions. So the dates of the Tiruvejjarai and the Lālgudi inscriptions are November 13th Monday, and December 5th, Tuesday of A. D. 780¹.

If A. D. 780 is selected as the date of Tiruvejjarai and Lālgudi records, A. D. 768 becomes the initial year of rule of Mārañjadaiyan, thus giving him altogether a rule of 51 years, till 818 A. D. This does not seem to be improbable, since his inscriptions range till his 43rd regnal year. If the identity of Parāntaka with Mārañjañdaiyan, alias Varaguṇa I and of Sadaiyamāraṇ with Śrimāra Śrivallabha is approved, then there is no other alternative except to admit that the accession of Varaguṇa I took place in A. D. 768. Thus, the chronological scheme of the early Pāṇḍyas from Mārañjadaiyan may be put forth as shown below².

Mārañjañdaiyan or Varaguṇa I	... A. D. 768 - 818
Śrimāra Śrivallabha Paracakrakōlahala	,, 818 - 863
Varaguṇa II	... ,,, 863 - 880
Parāntaka Viśnūrāyaṇa and his son	
Māgravarmṇa Rājasimha	... ,,, 880 - 920

Who then, is the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa, who figures as the donor in the Tiruvādi inscription³ of the eighteenth year of

1. But it must be noted here that on the 13th of November the civil day begins with Āśvati, but not so on the 5th of December. On this day, Satayam, not being current at sunrise, was f. d. n. (following day's nakṣatra). It comes during the course of Tuesday at the end of Dhaniṣṭhā at '48 of the day, i.e. after gh. 28, p. 48 after mean sunrise.

2. It is very interesting to note that Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's chronological scheme almost tallies with my scheme, with a difference of only a few years (*Vide*, his paper on 'The Early Pāṇḍyan Chronology'), published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI, part I).

3. Ep. Coll., No. 360-1921.

the rule of Nrpatunga, equivalent to A. D. 872, assuming, for the nonce, that 880 A. D. is his final year? It is not difficult to identify him with Varaguṇa II, a contemporary of Prthivipati, mentioned in the Āmbūr records of Nrpatunga. If Varaguṇa, who was the opponent of Prthivipati and his over-lord Aparājita, in the battle of Śripurambiyam is identified with Varaguṇa II, then a later date than A. D. 880 has to be assigned to that battle, which would bring it still nearer to Prthivipati II, rather than to his grandfather Prthivipati I. If Nrpatunga's vassal Prthivipati is identical with Prthivipati II, who was a contemporary of Varaguṇa II, then the Pāndya king Varagupta, with whom Prthivipati I fell fighting in the battle of Śripurambiyam, must necessarily have been Varaguṇa I (*Mājanāḍaiyag*). Without any necessity for such suppositions and deductions, the records of Varaguṇa II clearly suggest that his rule came to an end eighteen years after he had ascended the throne, i.e., in A. D. 880, in which case he should have been a contemporary of Prthivipati II rather than of Prthivipati I. Therefore, the conclusion is inevitable that Varaguṇa of the Śripurambiyam battle should have been Varaguṇa I and that the battle should have taken place, long before A. D. 880, the date that is generally assigned to it.

IV

Now let us come to Aparājita. He is a knotty puzzle in the history of the Pallavas, baffling all attempts to identify him. Nearly a dozen of his inscriptions, giving him the latest regnal year 18, have come to light¹. These are found in the taluks of Ponnēri, Saidapet, Śriperumbudūr and Conjeevaram of the Chingleput District and the Tiruttāni taluk of the Chittoor district. Thus he was the ruler of the core of the Pallava dominions, holding sway over the Conjeevaram taluk and its neighbouring country. Being almost in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pallava capital it is reasonable to suppose that he should have been a relation of the Pallava kings either of Nandivarman III or of Nrpatunga. But his inscriptions do not give us any clue regarding his connection with them. Since Pōttaraiyar is a common title of the Pallava kings of Kāñci, Aparājita who is mentioned

1. Dr. Jeveau Dubreuil says that an inscription of Tribhuvanaviradēva from Uttaramallūr, refers to the 19th year of the reign of Aparājita—(*The Pallavas*, p. 82).

in two inscriptions¹ as Kōvijaya Aparājitarvarma Pōttaraiyar and Kōvijaya Aparājita Vikrama Pōttaraiyar must be recognised as a Pallava king. His records do not furnish us with any material useful for reconstructing his history. It is, therefore, necessary to examine other sources that are likely to throw light upon the problem.

As has been stated in a previous context, the Udayēndiram plates² of Pṛthivīpati II bring to our notice an Aparājita, who won a victory in the battle of Śripurambiyam. But no mention is made of the dynasty to which he belonged. There is another reference to an Aparājita, in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates³ of Rājendra Cōḍa, which state that Āditya I took possession of the country of the Pallava king Aparājita, having conquered him in battle. This fact is further confirmed by the Kanyākumārī inscription⁴ of Virarājendra. It says that "in a battle he (Āditya) pounced upon and slew the Pallava king, who was seated on the back of a tall elephant." Hence the Pallava king referred to in the Kanyākumārī inscription can be no other than Aparājita, mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, who may be taken to be identical with Aparājita-Vikrama Pōttaraiyar or Aparājitarvarma Pōttaraiyar of the inscriptions. These are the only sources for the study of the history of Aparājita. Aparājita of the Udayēndiram plates was, on the evidence adduced in the previous sections, a contemporary of Varaguna I. It is for future research to decide who this Aparājita was. But for the present, in spite of the lack of evidence he may, be identified tentatively, if he were a Pallava king at all, with either Nandivarman II, or his son Dantivarman, because both of them happen to be the contemporaries of Varaguna I. The term 'Aparājita' in the śloka in the Udayēndiram plates that refers to the death of Pṛthivīpati I in the battle of Śripurambiyam, may be interpreted as a title, rather than as the personal name of the king. But in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, on the contrary, it is distinctly mentioned as the personal name of the Pallava king, who was defeated by Āditya I.

The Pallava king Aparājita, who was ruling the country around Conjeevaram was, according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and the Kanyākumārī inscription defeated and perhaps slain in

1. Ep. Coll., Nos. 159 and 190-1912.

2. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 380.

3. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 205.

4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 42 ff.

the battle by Āditya I, who thereafter occupied Tonḍaimandalam. So the last year of rule, i.e., the 18th regnal year of Aparājita should naturally coincide with the first year of the occupation of Tonḍaimandalam by Āditya I. The exact date of this event is not known. But a record from Tirumālpuram¹ in the Arkōgam taluk, of the North Arcot District, refers to the confirmation of a grant, made in the 21st regnal year of Tonḍaimāṇḍāggūr Tuñjiṇa Udaiyār, who has been identified, with Āditya I. This is the earliest year [equivalent to (870-71+20) 890-91], known from epigraphical evidence for Āditya's occupation of Tonḍaimandalam. If this year represents the date of the Cōla conquest of Tonḍaimandalam and the end of the Pallava rule, (i.e., the last year of the rule of Aparājita) then he should have come to the throne in (890-91-17=) 873-74. It is obvious that this is six years earlier than A. D. 880 (not to speak of A. D. 888), which may provisionally be taken as the last year of the rule of Nṛpatunga. This date is derived as noted already, from the synchronistic references to Cāluki arāśar (i.e., Vikramāditya II) and Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, furnished by the Mallam inscription. Thus, it is clear that Aparājita's reign was coeval with that of Nṛpatunga, the early years of the rule of the former coinciding with the last years of the rule of the latter².

1. Ep. Coll., No. 286-1906.

2. The late T. A. Gopinatha Rao, in his paper entitled "Six Pallava Inscriptions" (Jour. Ind. Ass., 1910, Oct.), expressed the view that Nṛpatunga and Aparājita were identical. To understand his arguments clearly, the following facts should be remembered. The history of the Pallavas of Kālīci, was not as clear then, as it is to-day. Dr. Hultzsch and V. Venkayya, the premier epigraphists of South India, were holding the opinion that Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Dantivarman and Nṛpatunga were "Gāṅga Pallavas," who were "considered to have immediately succeeded the Pallavas, on the downfall of the ancient dynasty, by the defeat of Nandivarman Pallavamalla about A. D. 760" and "to have ruled up to the beginning of the 10th century A. D." It was not clear then that there were two kings by name Nandivarman among the later Pallavas. About 1910, the accepted order of succession among the so-called "Gāṅga-Pallavas" was Dantivarman (51 years), his son Nandivarman (62 years)—(Nandivarman's inscription of his 65th regnal year had not yet been brought to light)—and his son, Nṛpatunga (26 years)—making altogether a total of (51+62+26=) 139 years of rule.

Let us for the sake of argument, as scholars at present generally do, accept the identifications suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, of Varaguna, Aparājita and Pr̄thivīpati I, the heroes of the Śripurambiyam battle with Varaguna II, Aparājita, the last Pallava king defeated by Āditya I, and Pr̄thivīpati I of the Āmbūr records of the 26th year of Nṛpatunga's rule respectively. Then, as Prof. Nilakantha Sastri remarks "It seems strange that the victor of Śripurambiyam appears to have left no inscriptions to the south of Kāñcipuram". Moreover, how can it be contended that Aparājita fought a battle at Śripurambiyam, which is identified with the village Tiruppirambiyam, near Kumbakōnam, a place which could not have been included within the limits of his kingdom? It is strange that not even a single record, either of Aparājita or of his friend Pr̄thivīpati, is found in South Arcot — the intervening district between the Chingleput and the Tanjore districts — to prove that their dominion extended as far as Kumbakōnam.

Leaving out these considerations altogether, let us examine the subject from another stand point. The Pāṇḍya king Varaguna II must be regarded as an ally or a subordinate of Nṛpatunga.

Having these facts in view Gopinatha Rao framed his chronological scheme as follows:—

Dantivarman	..	..	A. D. 760 — 811
Nandivarman	..	..	811 — 873
Nṛpatunga	..	..	873 — 899

Gopinatha Rao held that "it could not be that a Pallava king Aparājita, different from Nṛpatunga was present at the battle of Śripurambiyam with Pr̄thivīpati". He identified Varaguna, whose accession to the throne took place in A.D. 862 with the Pāṇḍya king of the same name, who was killed in the battle of Śripurambiyam by Aparājita. Varaguna's victorious march to Tonḍaimandalam was described in the Ambasamudram inscription of his 17th regnal year. The battle of Śripurambiyam must, therefore, have been fought either in or after the 17th year of the rule of Varaguna. Gopinatha Rao, as has already been stated, took A. D. 878 as the last date of Pr̄thivīpati I (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 59, table). "Hence" he concluded "the Pallava friend Aparājita of Pr̄thivīpati, who was present at the battle field at Śripurambiyam, must be only Nṛpatunga."

It is evident from what is stated above, that he wrote that article when the history of the Pallavas was still shrouded in mystery, and speculation was rampant. So we need not take

This is the implication of his being the donor in a record¹ of the 18th regnal year of that Pallava king, corresponding to (855 + 17—) A. D. 872. Then it seems reasonable to conclude that Aparajita, who probably ascended the throne in A. D. 873-4 was an enemy of Nṛpatunga, the latter being his enemy's friend. How could these two rivals rule the same tract of country simultaneously, as is indicated by their inscriptions? If Aparajita is taken to have defeated Varaguna II, even before his accession to the throne in A. D. 873-4, how could Prthivipati of the Ambūr records, who has been identified with Prthivipati I, be alive, when it is clearly stated in the Udayēndiram plates, that he had lost his life in that battle? If it is argued on the other hand, that the battle of Śripurambiyam had taken place after the 26th year of rule of Nṛpatunga, which cannot be earlier than A. D. 880, then where is the room for the generation of Mārasarha, son of Prthivipati I and father of Prthivipati II and what evidence is there to suppose, even for the sake of argument, that he was short-lived? As a matter of fact, it has been concluded that Varaguna II died in 880, if his records, so far discovered, are taken into account. A. D. 880 being the provisional date given to the end of Nṛpatunga's reign by counting the regnal years of the later Pallavas as current ones, the actual date of the last year of his rule must be later than 880. As a matter of fact, according to my scheme, he ruled until 888 A. D. It follows from this that Varaguna II died even while Nṛpatunga was ruling. Even if the identifications of Dr. Hultzsch are rejected, some explanation must be offered for the incongruity of the over-lapping of the reigns of Nṛpatunga and Aparajita.

How could it be possible for two different kings to rule over the same tract of country simultaneously? The inscriptions of Nṛpatunga and Aparajita are both abundant in the Chingleput and the Chittoor districts, till the last year of the former's rule. Three

what Gopinatha Rao has written very seriously and criticise him. All honour to those, who have worked strenuously before us and laid the foundations of South Indian History. We have to admire Gopinatha Rao's critical acumen and boldness in concluding then that Dantivarman and his descendants were also of the same dynasty as the Pallavas of Kāñcī and not different from them, and that the appellation, the Gaṅga Pallavas was wrongly founded.

1. Ep. Coll., No. 360—1921.

alternatives suggest themselves to explain this anomaly. (1) Aparājita must be identical with Nrpatunga, in which case, reasons are to be adduced for the difference in the personal names and for the disappearance of Aparājita's records with the eighteenth year of his rule¹; (2) or Aparājita, though he was related to Nrpatunga, must have set up an independent rule in defiance of his authority; (3) or Nrpatunga assigned some tract of country to Aparājita, perhaps his dear and near relative, if not his actual son, recognising him as his future heir to the throne. Of these though the last alternative seems plausible yet it does not answer all the difficulties satisfactorily.

V

The simultaneous rule of two kings over the same dominion is thus forced on us by accepting the date 894-95 A.D., suggested by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanyam Aiyar for the Takkōlam record. He pitched upon this date 894-95, as it is nearest to 907, the date of Parāntaka's accession to the throne, assuming that Parāntaka's rule began only after the death of his father Āditya.

The above complication may be avoided if the date of that record is pushed a little forward. The only date² that satisfies the details mentioned in it, next to 895 is A.D. 913, which falls in the reign of Parāntaka I, son of Āditya. If 913 is accepted as the date of the Takkōlam record then there is no need to extend his reign arbitrarily beyond his 28th regnal year.³ But then, we have to postulate the conjoint rule of the early Cōja kings, Āditya

1. Even though T. A. Gopinatha Rao held Nrpatunga and Aparājita to be identical, he did not explain why some epigraphs should be in the name of Nrpatunga and others in the name of Aparājita, and why Aparājita's regnal years should stop with 18 only.

2. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris'.

3. The highest regnal year, given in the records of Rājakesariyarmans, who are unidentified is only 30 (*Vide*, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's "Cōjas," Appendix, page 385). There are innumerable number of records of the Cōja kings, mentioning their regnal years consecutively from the first year of their rule. In such a case, it seems questionable to assign A.D. 894-895 to the Takkōlam record, in the absence of any definitely-known record of Āditya I Rājakesariyarmans after his 28th regnal year,

I and Parāntaka I. This is not unknown to the Cōla kings. Their records bear testimony to the conjoint rule of father and son from Parāntaka I down to Virarūjēndra. But no such evidence is found for the conjoint rule in the history of the Pallavas. Hence joint rule may be accepted, as not only possible but even probable, in the case of Āditya and Parāntaka but not in the case of Nṛpatuṅga and Aparājita.

If A. D. 915 were accepted as the date of the Takkōlam record, the initial and the 21st year of Āditya's rule become A. D. 890 and 910 respectively. Āditya should have taken two or three years for consolidating his power in the newly-conquered territory before he could make fresh grants or confirm old ones; the real date of the Cōla conquest of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam would then be A. D. 906-07. Aparājita would have come to the throne, according to the new arrangement of dates in (906-07—18=) 888-89 A. D. after the death of Nṛpatuṅga; he must have been defeated and slain by Āditya I, in 906-07. Āditya anointed his son to the throne in 907, perhaps at the beginning of the great campaign against the chiefs of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. It appears that the conquest of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam was achieved by Āditya, not single-handed, but with the help of his son Parāntaka also.

After the death of Nṛpatuṅga, Aparājita, a scion of the Pallava family came to power; the Bāṇas about Tiruvallam and Gudimallam began to rule independently in their ancestral dominion, there being no powerful over-lord to check them. Āditya, with the help of Sthāṇu Ravi, Parāntaka I, and Pr̥thivipati II overcame these independent chieftains and brought Tonḍaimaṇḍalam under the Cōla flag. It is not unlikely that Āditya died in one of his wars, perhaps with the Bāṇas, at Arrūr near Tonḍamanāḍ, in the territory of the Bāṇas in 917. The battle of Vallāla (Tiruvallam?) mentioned in the Sholinger record¹ of the 9th regnal year (A. D. 915) of Parāntaka, in which Pr̥thivipati II was the victor, should have been one of the many remarkable events of the campaign against Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. Pr̥thivipati II was raised to the dignity of Bāṇādhīrāja and made the lord of the conquered Bāṇa territory in or some time before the 9th year of Parāntaka. The record, above quoted, gives Pr̥thivipati II the titles Hastimalla, Viracōla and Bāṇādhīrāja.

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 221 ff.
IX—31

If this chronological arrangement is accepted, it should be admitted that Aditya, while conquering Tondaimandalam, sent his son Parāntaka against the Pāṇḍyas of Madura (even as early as 910) because, from the time of Māravarman Rājasirha I they were trying their best to extend their territory to the north of the Kāvēri. Even after the death of Varaguna II, his younger brother Parāntaka, alias Viranārāyapa Śādaiyag also destroyed Pennāgadam ("somewhere near Tanjore") and fought in the Koṅgu country. His son Māravarman Rājasimha II seems to have faithfully adhered to the policy adopted by his father and carried his arms to the north of the Kāvēri. The Bigger Sinnamangūr plates, issued in the 16th regnal year of this king, mention the battles he fought at Ulappinimāṅgalam, Koṭumbai, Vañji and with the king of Tañjai. With such Pāṇḍyan rivals in the south in the rear, it seems impossible for Aditya to extend his conquests over Tondaimandalam, had he not simultaneously attacked the Pāṇḍyas also, checking their north-ward progress. If this fact is conceded, then not only the conjoint rule of Aditya and Parāntaka should be postulated, but 913 A. D. as the date of the Takkōlam record should also be approved. This suggested date for the Takkōlam record will remove the complication of the conjoint rule of Nṛpatuṅga¹ and Aparājita.

1. The Report on Epigraphy for 1901 states (p. 6) that Adiga! Kanḍan Mārambāvi, the queen of Nandipōttaraiyar of the Pallava-tilaka race is named in two of Nṛpatuṅgavarman's inscriptions (300 and 303 of 1901), copied at Tiruchchennaitipūnji, during that year. I examined the texts of the inscriptions published in the South Indian Inscriptions Vol. VII. Besides Ep. Coll., No. 303, four more new inscriptions, numbered as 303A to 303D were also given in the volume. Similarly, besides No. 301, another new inscription, numbered as 303 A, was also copied at the same place. Their numbers in the volume range from 521 to 529. Inscriptions denoted by the numbers 521 (Ep. Coll., No. 300), 522 (Ep. Coll., No. 301), 526 (Ep. Coll., No. 303A) and 528 (Ep. Coll., No. 303 C) belong to Nṛpatuṅga. In none of these inscriptions Adiga! Kanḍan Mārambāvi is mentioned. But at the same place, there are two inscriptions denoted by the numbers 523 and 525 (Ep. Coll., Nos. 301A and 303 of 1901 respectively) in the volume. The beginnings of these are lost. In the extant portion these do not mention the Pallava king Nṛpatuṅga at all, but register a gift of the queen Adiga! Kanḍan Mārambāvi.

Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri in his recent work "The Cōjas", notices an inscription of the 18th year of Rājakēśarivarma, which also mentions the same queen. I have gone through the text of this inscription also. It is true that it mentions a woman Mārambāvi. But no titles are given to her as we find in the inscriptions of the Pallava queen, Aḍigai Kapṭag Mārambāvi. There is nothing to show in this particular inscription that this Mārambāvi was identical with the Pallava queen Mārambāvi.



॥ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता श्रीमद्भागवतं च ॥

वे. राघवः, एम. ए., पिहेन्. डि.

(Continued from Vol. IX, Pt. 2, p. 169)

१६. गी० ६. ५-६: उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानम् ।
आत्मैव द्वात्मनो चन्द्रुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः ।
चन्द्रुरात्मात्मनस्तस्य ।
- मा० ११. ११. १९: प्रायेण मनुजा लोके लोकतत्त्वविचक्षणाः ।
समुद्धरन्ति द्वात्मानमात्मनैवाश्रुभाशयात् ॥
- , ११. ८. ४२: आत्मैव द्वात्मनो गोपा ।
१७. गी० ६. २३: स निश्चयेन योक्तव्यो योगोऽनिविष्णुचेतसा ।
- अनिवेदस्य आवश्यकतां प्रति रामायणे हनूमतैवमुच्यते—
अनिवेदः श्रियो मूलमनिवेदः परं सुखम् ।
तस्मादनिवेदकरं यत्रं चेष्टहमुतमग् ॥
- मागवते ११. १३. १३: भगवद्गीतावाक्यमेवमनूद्यते—
वप्रमत्तोऽनुयुडीत मनो भव्यर्पयञ्ज्ञनैः ।
अनिविष्ण्णो यथाकालं जितश्वासो जितासनः ॥
- श्वासासनादिजयश्च पूर्वमेवोक्तः, अस्मिन्नेव षष्ठेऽव्याये गीतासु
'शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य' इत्यादिपु विचतुरेषु श्लोकेषु ।
- १८ गी०. ७. ३: मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कथिततति सिद्धये ।
यततामपि सिद्धानां कथिन्मां वेति तत्त्वतः ॥
- मा० ६. १४. ४: प्रायो मुमुक्षवस्तेषां केचनैव द्विजोत्तम ।
सुमुक्ष्याणां सहस्रेषु कथिन्मुच्येत सिद्धयति ॥
१९. गी० ७. १: मूमिरापोऽनलो धायुः खं मनो तुद्दिरेव च ।
अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥

भा० ११. २२: पुरुषः प्रकृतिर्व्यक्तमहंकारो नमोऽनिलः ।
ज्योतिरिपः शितिरिति तत्त्वान्युक्तानि मे नव ॥

२०. गी० ७. ११: बलं बलवतां चाहम् ।

भागवते प्रह्लाद एवमाह स्वपितरम्—(७. ८. ८)

‘न केवलं मे भवतश्च राजन् स वै बलं वलिनां चापोधाम् ।’
किञ्च तत्रैव (७. ८. ९.) (स इर्ष्वरः) ओजस्सहस्रत्वबलेन्द्रियात्मा ।

उपरि च एतत्तात्पर्या अतिरमणीया अर्जुनपौरुषवर्गविभक्तिका काचन
कथा वर्तते । सृत्योरहं द्विजपुत्रं रक्षिष्यामीति विकरथनेन सगाण्डीवं
जागरूक एव तिष्ठत्यर्जुने सृत्युरागत्य शिशुमाक्षिपति । क्लीबीभूतमात्मान-
मालोक्य, कृष्णमहिमानमनुसृत्य दूरीचकार गर्वमर्जुनः—

निशाम्य वैष्णवं धाम पार्थः परमविस्मितः ।
यत्किञ्चित् पौरुषं पुंसां मेने कृष्णानुकम्भितम् ॥

१०. उत्तरार्थे, ८९. ६३.

२१. गी० ७. १७. १८. ज्ञानिप्रशंसा—

तेषां ज्ञानी नित्यमुक्त एकमत्किर्विशिष्यते ।
यियो हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यर्थमहं स च मम प्रियः ॥
उदाराः सर्वं एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम् ॥

भा० ११. १४. १५-१६. उद्घवायैवसुन्धते भगवता—

न तथा मे प्रियतमः आत्मयोनिर्न शंकरः ।
न च संकर्षणो न श्रीरैवात्मा च, यथा भवान् ॥
निरपेक्षं मुर्ति शान्तं निवैरं समदर्शनम् ।
अनुब्रजाम्यहं नित्यं पूर्येत्यद्विरेणुमिः ॥

,, „ १९. २-३. पुनर्ज्ञोद्घवमाह भगवान्—

ज्ञानिनस्त्वहमेवेष्टः ।
ज्ञानी प्रियतमोऽतो मे ।

२२. गी० ७. २०: कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपञ्चन्तेऽन्यदेवताः ।

इति इश्यमानम्, भागवते परीक्षिते सुकृष्णाणा कं कं कामसुदिश्य-
काः का देवता उपास्यन्त इति विव्रियते । ‘अकामः पुमान् परं पुरुष-

मुपासीत् इति च समाप्यते—“अकामः पुरुषं परम्” इति । पुनश्चैतत् तत्रैव कथ्यते—

अकामः सर्वकामो वा मोक्षकाम उदारधीः ।

तीव्रेण भक्तियोगेन मजेत् पुरुषं परम् ॥

१. ३. १-११.

२३. गी० ७: २३: अन्तवत् फलं तेषां तद्वत्यत्प्रभेषसाम् ।
देवान् देवयज्वो यान्ति मद्वक्ता यान्ति मामपि ॥

भा० ११. १४: उद्घवाय भगवताभिधीयते—

आधन्तवन्त एवैषां लोकाः कर्मविनिर्भिताः ।

दुःखोदर्कस्तमोनिष्ठाः क्षुद्रानन्दाः शुचार्पिताः ॥

इदमेव गी० ५. २२ उच्यते—

ये हि संस्पर्शजा भोगा दुःखयोनय एव ते ।

आधन्तवन्तः कौन्तेय न तेषु रमते शुचः ॥

२४. गी० ९. २२. अनन्याश्चिन्तयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।

तेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम् ॥

भागवते च इयं प्रतिज्ञा भगवन्सुखादेव एवं श्रूयते—

ये त्यक्तलोकवर्माश्च मदर्थं, तान् विभर्म्यहम् ।

२५. गी० ९. २३. येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता.....तेऽपि मामेव
यजन्तीति या गीताः, ता एव विस्तीर्यन्ते भागवते अकृतस्तुतौ—
(१०. पूर्वार्धं ४०-१):

त्वामेवान्ये शिवोक्तेन मार्गेण शिवलूपिणम् ।

बह्वाचार्यविभेदेन भगवन् समुपासते ॥

सर्वं एव यजन्ति त्वां सर्वदेवमयेश्वरम् ।

येऽप्यन्यदेवताभक्ता यद्यप्यन्यधियः प्रभो ॥

यशाद्विप्रभवा नद्यः पर्जन्यापूरिताः प्रभो ।

विशनित सर्वतः सिन्धुं तद्वत्त्वां गतयोऽन्ततः ॥

२६ गी० ९. ३०-३२: ‘अपि चेत् सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक्’
इत्यारम्भ—‘ज्ञियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम्’
इत्यन्तः सन्दर्भः भगवतैव भागवते (९. १४. २१) एवं संगृह्यते—

‘भक्तिः पुनाति मविष्ठान् शपाकानपि संभवात् ।’
किञ्च सप्तमे प्रह्लाद एवं सत्रष्णचारिणोऽनुशासित—

“देतेया यक्षरक्षांसि लियशशूद्रा ब्रजौकसः ।
चिंगा मृगाः पापजीवाः सन्ति छन्द्युतां गताः ॥”

७. ७. ५४.

एतत्त्वनिर्देशनार्थमेव भागवते गजेन्द्रगोपखीकुञ्जादीनां भक्तिः-
योगकथाः निरूपिता इति मन्ये ।

२७. ९. २७: यत्करोवि यदश्चासि यज्ञुद्दोषि ददासि यत् ।
यत्तपस्यसि कौन्तेय तत्कुरुष्व मदर्थणम् ॥

इदं सर्वप्रकारकेशरार्पणं भागवत एवमनूष्टते—(१. ३. २८)

इष्टं दत्तं तपो जरं बृतं यज्ञात्मनः प्रियम् ।

दारान्मुतान्यृहान्याणान्यत्परस्मै निवेदनम् ॥

२८. गी० ९. २५: यान्ति देवत्रता देवान् पितृन् यान्ति पितृत्रताः ।
मूतानि यान्ति भूतेज्या यान्ति मधाजिनोऽपि
माम् ॥

,, ७. २३ देवान् देवयजो यान्ति मद्दका यान्ति मामपि ।

,, १७. ४: यजन्ते सात्विका देवान् वक्षरक्षांसि राजसाः ।
प्रेतान् मूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः ॥

भा० १. २. २६-२७: मुमुक्षवो घोररूपान् हित्वा भूतपतीनश ।
नारायणकलाः शान्ताः भवन्ति द्वानसूयवः ॥
रजस्तमःप्रकृतयः समशीला भवन्ति हि ।
पितृभूतप्रजेशादीन् श्रियैश्चर्यप्रजेप्यवः ॥

२९. गी० १०: ९: मचित्ता मद्दतप्राणा घोषयन्तः परस्परम् ।
कथयन्तश्च मां नित्यं तुष्यन्ति च रमन्ति च ॥

इमे चान्ये च भागवतधर्मां वहवोऽतिव्यासेन भागवते वर्णिताः ।

३०. गी० १२. १३: अद्देष्टा सर्वभूतानां मैत्रः करुण एव च ।

दृश्यते च भागवते पुनःपुनर्भक्ते वर्णयमाणे, योगिनि निरूप्यमाणे,
साधौ लक्ष्यमणे च “मैत्रः कारणिकः कविः”, “मैत्रः करुण एव च”,
“मैत्रः करुण आत्मवान्” इति ।

३१. गी० १२. १५ः यस्माच्चोद्विजते लोको लोकाशोद्विजते च यः ।
 भा० ११. १८. ३१ः नोद्विजेत जनादीरो जनं चोद्वेजयेत् तु ।
 ३२. गी० १४. १७ः सत्त्वात् सज्जायते ज्ञानम् ।
 भी० ११. १३. ६. सात्त्विकान्येव सेवेत पुमान् सत्त्वविशुद्धये ।
 ततो धर्मस्ततो ज्ञानं यावत्सवितरपोहनम् ॥

भागवते विशेषतः समादरणाहर्वं मागः एकादशस्कन्धः ।
 वेदानां वेदान्त इव अन्तमूर्तं मौलिभूतं मन्ये भगवतस्य
 एकादशस्कन्धम् । तत्र हि भगवति कृष्णे निर्वर्तितस्वावतारकर्मणि
 ब्रह्मशापव्याजेन स्वकालात्मकशक्त्या स्वकुलं संहृत्य खस्थानं
 प्रतिष्ठिमाने अत्यन्तं श्रियो भक्तस्तस्य सुहृत् परमभगवत् उद्धवो
 भगवद्विरहमसहमानः परित्यजते । तस्मै च विरहातुराय किंकर्तव्यता-
 मूढाय च भगवान्, पूर्वं सङ्घामसुखे अर्जुनायेव, दिव्यं गुद्धं
 च ज्ञानमुपदिशति । अत्र च अपरा भगवद्वीता आस्ते । ये
 चाध्यात्मिका विषयाः गीतामु परिशील्यन्ते, ते सर्वेऽपि कृष्णोद्भव-
 संवादेऽपि । योगाङ्गव्याख्याः, तत्संबद्धाः सर्वे विषयाश्च अत्रापि स्पष्टं
 वर्णिताः । तत्र तत्र भगवद्वीताना अनुवाद इव, प्रतिष्ठनिरिव,
 मूलस्य व्याख्ययेव, सूत्रस्य विवरणमिव, सङ्ग्रहस्य विस्तर इव
 चहवः सन्दर्भी वर्तन्ते ।

काम्यकर्मनिन्दा, कर्मफलसंन्यासः, कर्मणां भगवति समर्पणम्,
 भक्तियोगः, सर्वया भगवत्परमत्वे भगवद्वितीत्वं च, बात्मनोऽविनाशि-
 त्वादिज्ञानम्, प्रकृतिकृतं सर्वमिति विवेकः, गुणेष्वसंगः, सुखदुःख-
 पूजावमानस्तुतिनिन्दासुहृच्छव्यादिद्वन्द्वेषु साम्यम्, ध्यानयोगः,
 इन्द्रियनिश्चः, कामजयः, सत्त्वोद्रेकसंपादनम्, रजस्तमोलङ्घनम्,
 अभिता भगवतो विभूतयो या ध्यानम् योगी सर्वभूतानि
 स्वात्मनि स्वात्मानं च सर्वेषु भूतेषु पश्यन् मुच्येत, वर्णवर्णाः,
 स्वधर्मानुष्ठानभगवद्वक्त्योः समन्वयः, ज्ञानयोगः, ज्ञानकर्मभक्ति-
 योगानामधिकारिविभागः, त्रयाणां योगानां निरुपणम् गुणत्रय-
 वर्णनमित्यादिविषयाः उद्धवाय भगवता उपदिश्यन्ते ।

अर्जुनस्य उद्धवस्य च साम्यं भगवतैव पूर्वं गीतासु
प्रयुक्तान् शब्दानेव युनः प्रयुक्तानेन सूच्यते । गीतासु चतुर्थोऽध्याये
हि अर्जुन एवमुच्यते भगवता—

“भक्तोऽसि मे सखा चेति रहस्यं शेतदुत्तमम् (योगः प्रोक्तः) ।”
एकादशे च भगवते उद्धवोऽप्येवमेव उच्यते—

“अथैतत् परमे गुणां शृण्वतो यदुनन्दन ।

सुग्रीव्यमपि वक्ष्यामि त्वं मे भृत्यः सुहृत् सखा ॥”
तथा हि प्रियो भगवत् उद्धवः, यत् स्वविमूलिकर्णे भगवानुद्धव-
माह—

“त्वं तु भगवतेष्वद्दृश् ।”

अष्टादशाध्याये गीतासु—

“इष्टोऽसि मे इष्टमिति ततो वक्ष्यामि ते हितम् ।”
इति अर्जुने प्रेम भगवताविष्कृतम् । तथैव उद्धवे चाविष्कियते—

न तथा ने प्रियतम आत्मयोनिर्न घंकरः ।

न च संकर्षणो न श्रीनैवात्मा च, यथा भवान् ॥

उपदेशान्ते च गीताचार्य उपसंगृह्णाति—

कषिदेतच्छुतं पार्थं त्वयैकाग्रेण चेतसा ।

कविदज्ञानसंगोहः प्रनष्टस्ते धनञ्जय ॥

उद्धवं चहुवोपदिश्य अनेनैव वाक्येन भगवते च भगवानुपरमति—

अप्युद्धव त्वया त्रिष्णु सखे समवधारितम् ।

अपि ते विगतो मोहः शोकशासी मनोमवः ॥ (११. २९. २३)

परं च गीतोपदेशावसान इदमाह भगवान्—

इदं ते नातपस्काय नामकाय कदाचन ।

न चाशुश्रूपवे वाच्यं न च मां योऽन्यसूयति ॥

भगवते चेदभेदाह उद्धवम्—

नैतस्या दाम्भिकाय नास्तिकाय शठाय च ।

अशुश्रूपोरभक्ताय दुर्विनीताय दीयताम् ॥

गीताध्ययनरूपज्ञानयज्ञस्य फलमेवं गीतावसाने भगवता वर्ण्यते—

य इदं परमं गुह्यं मद्भक्तेभ्यभिधास्यति ।
मक्षिं मयि परां कृत्वा मामेवैष्यत्यसंशयः ॥

उद्भवोपदेशान्ते च—

य एतन्मम भक्तेषु संप्रदायात् सुपुष्कलम् ।
तस्याहं ब्रह्मदायस्य ददाभ्यात्मानमात्मना ॥
गीतासु अष्टादशाध्याय इदमनुशृण्वते भगवता—
सर्वधर्मान् परिस्त्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपोपेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥

उद्भवाय चेदमेवाह भगवान्—

मामेकमेव शरणम् आत्मानं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
याहि सर्वात्मभावेन मया स्या श्वकुतोभयः ॥
भागवत एकादशस्तकन्थे निमिना कर्मयोगं पृष्ठ आविहौत्र आह ।
निमि:— कर्मयोगं वदत नः पुरुषो येन संस्कृतः ।
विधूयेहाशु कर्माणि नैष्कर्म्यं विन्दते परम् ॥
आविहौत्रः— कर्माकर्मविकर्मेति वेदवादो न लौकिकः ।
वेदस्य चेश्वरात्मत्वात् तत्र मुद्दान्ति सूरयः ॥
(“किं कर्म किमकर्मेति कर्योऽप्यत्र मोहिताः” (४. १६) इति गीतासु)
वेदेक्तमेव कुर्वाणो निसंगोऽपितमीश्वरे ।
नैष्कर्म्यां लभते सिद्धिं रोचनार्था फलञ्चुतिः ॥

सद्ग्रहेण योगत्रयमपि भगवतैवमुद्भवायोपदिष्टम्—

योगास्त्रयो मया प्रोक्ता नृणां श्रेयोविधिस्तया ।
ज्ञानं कर्म च भक्तिश्च नोपायोऽन्योऽस्ति कुत्रचित् ॥
निर्विष्णानां ज्ञानयोगो न्यासिनामिह कर्मसु ।
तेष्वनिर्विष्णचित्तानां कर्मयोगस्तु कामिनाम् ॥
यद्ब्रह्मया मत्कथादौ जातश्रद्धस्तु यः पुमान् ।
न निर्विष्णो नातिसक्तो भक्तियोगोऽस्य सिद्धिदः ॥

११. २०. ६-८.

गीताष्टादशाध्याये—

स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धि लभते नरः ।

स्वकर्मनिरतः सिद्धिं वथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥

इत्यासम्य यः स्वकर्मे कुर्वाणस्य स्ववर्मानुष्ठानरूपे योगः स्वकर्मणा
भगवदभ्यर्थं स मागवत एकादशे, सप्तदशेऽष्टादशे चाध्याये
विस्तरेण कथ्यते ।

सर्वत्रैव भगवद्वाव॑ इष्टमनुष्ठायतया वर्णन्ते तात्त्वा भगवतो
विभूतयो गीतासु विभूतियोगाध्याये दशमे । मागवत एकादशस्कन्धे च
विभूतियोगाध्याय एक बाले । गीतासु एवमसुनः पृच्छति—

परं ब्रह्म परं धाम पवित्रं परमं भवान् ।

पुरुषं शाश्वतं दिव्यमादिदेवमजं विभुर् ॥

आहूस्त्वासृष्टयः सर्वे * *

वक्तुर्महस्यज्ञेषण दिव्या द्यात्मविभूतयः ।

याभिर्विभूतिभिलोकानिमांस्त्वं व्याप्त्य तिष्ठसि ॥

कथं विद्यामहं योगिस्त्वां सदा परिचिन्तयन् ।

केषु केषु च भावेषु चिन्तयोऽसि भगवन् मया ॥

विस्तरेणात्मनो योगं विभूतिं च जनाईन ।

भूयः कथय तृष्णिहि शृणवतो नास्ति मेऽमृतम् ॥

मागवत एकादशे स्कन्धे षोडशेऽध्याये उद्घव एवं पृच्छति—

त्वं ब्रह्म परमं साक्षात्नायन्तमपावृतम् ।

सर्वेषामपि भावानां त्राणस्थित्यप्ययोऽवः ॥

* * *

येषु येषु च भावेषु भक्त्या त्वां परमर्थयः ।

उपासीनाः प्रपद्यन्ते संसिद्धिं तद्ददस्व मे ॥

गृह्णश्चरसि भूतात्मा भूतानां भूतमावन ।

(गीतासु अत्र 'भूतमावन भूतेश' इति अहुनेन भगवत्संबुद्धिः
कियते)

न त्वां पश्यन्ति भूतानि पश्यन्तं गोहितानि ते ॥

याः काश्च भूमौ दिवि वै रसायां विभूतयो दिष्टु महाविभूते ।

ता मद्भासाख्याद्यनुभावितास्ते नभासि ते तीर्थपदाक्षिपदम् ॥

इति उद्धवेन पृष्ठो भगवान् ब्रूते—

एवमेतदहं पृष्ठः प्रश्नं प्रश्नविदां वर ।
 सुमुत्सुना विनशने सप्तलैर्हुनेन वै ॥
 ज्ञात्वा ज्ञातिवधं गर्द्धमधर्मं राज्यहेतुकम् ।
 ततो निवृत्तो हन्ताहं हतोऽयमिति लौकिकः ॥
 स तदा पुरुषव्याप्रो युक्त्या मे प्रतिषोधितः ।
 अभ्यभाषत मामेवं यथा त्वं रणमूर्खनि ॥

अतः परं भगवतो विभूतयः प्रथमतो यथा मागवतविभूतियोगाद्याये वर्णिताः, तथा ता वर्तयिष्यामि, ताच्च तदा तदा समनन्तरमेव यथा गीतासु वर्णिताः तथा निरूपयिष्यामि ।—

मागवते ११, १६.

गीतासु.

१. अहमात्मा उद्धव अमीषां अहमात्मा गुडाकेश सर्वमूताशयस्थितः ।
 मूतानां १०, २०.

२. मूतानां सुहृत्

सुहृदं सर्वमूतानाम् ५, २९.

निवासः शरणं सुहृत् ९, १८.

३. तेषां मूतानां स्थित्युद्धवाप्ययः

अहमादिश्च मध्यं च मूतानामन्त एव
 च । १०, २०.

अहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा ।
 ७, ६.

४. कालः कलयतामहस्

तथैव १०, ३०.

५. गुणानामप्यहं साम्यम् ।

इयं विभूतिः गीतासु विभूतियोगाद्याये
 न दृश्यते । किन्तु साम्यमन्तरा इमे
 श्लोकाः गीतासु वर्तन्ते, यानालम्ब्यैव
 भगवते साम्यं गुणेषु भगवद्विभूतित्वेन
 संशुद्धीतम्—

“विद्याविनयसंपद्वे ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
 शुनि चैव शपाके च पण्डिताः सम-
 दर्शिनः ॥

इहैव तैर्जितः सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं
मनः ।

निर्दीर्घं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद् ब्रह्मणि ते
स्थिताः ॥” ५. १८-१९.

किञ्च—“समः सिद्धावसिद्धौ च” ४. २२.

“समलोष्टाश्मकाङ्गनः” ६. ८.

“समदुद्दिविशिष्यते” ६. ९.

“समदुःखसुखः” १२. १३.

समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथा मानावमानयोः ।

शतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु समः संगविवर्जितः ॥ १२. १८.

“तुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिः”

समदुःखसुखः स्वस्वः समलोष्टाश्मकाङ्गनः ।

तुल्यप्रियाप्रियो धीरस्तुल्यनिन्दात्मसंस्तुतिः ॥

मानावमानयोस्तुल्यः तुल्यो मित्रारिपक्षयोः । १५. २४-२५.

“समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु” १८. ५४.

समदुःखसुखं धीरं सोऽमृतत्वाय
कल्पते । २. १४-१५.

सिद्धधसिद्धयोः समो भूत्वा
समत्वं योग उच्यते । २. ४८.

समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे हेष्योऽस्ति
न प्रियः । ९. २९.

एवं समत्वं योगः, साम्यं ब्रह्मेति यदि * गीतासु गीयते, किमत्र
आश्चर्यं यद्वागवते गुणेषु साम्यगुणो भगवानिति वर्ण्यते ।

५. गुणिनामप्यहं सूत्रम् मयि सर्वमिदं प्रोतं सूत्रे मणिगणा इव ।

६. दुर्जयानामहं मनः इन्द्रियाणां मनस्थास्मि । ११. २२.

* किञ्च गीता० २. ३८, ५६, ५७; ६. २०; ६. ७, ८, ९, ३३;
१२. ११, १२, १७, १८, १९; १३-१७; १८. २६, ५४.

असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निश्चहं चलम्।

५. ३५.

७. मन्त्राणां प्रणवः
८. अक्षराणामकारोऽस्मि
९. इन्द्रोऽहं सर्वदेवानाम्
१०. वसुनामास्मि हृष्यवाद्
११. आदित्यानामहं विष्णुः
१२. रुद्राणां नीललोहितः
१३. ब्रह्मणां भृगुरहम्
१४. देवर्णीणां नारदोऽहम्
१५. हविर्वान्यस्मि धेनुपु
१६. सिद्धेश्वराणां कपिलः
१७. सुपर्णोऽहं पतञ्जिनाम्
१८. पितृणामहमर्यमा
१९. मां विद्वद्युद्व दैत्यानां
प्रह्लादमसुरेश्वरम्।
२०. सोमं नक्षत्रौपधीनाम्

२१. धनेशं यक्षरक्षसाम्
२२. ऐरावतं गजेन्द्राणाम्
२३. यादसां वरुणं प्रभुम्
२४. तपतां तुमतां सूर्यम्

२५. मनुष्याणां च भूषितम्
२६. उच्चैऽवस्तुरक्षणाम्
२७. यमसंयमतां चाहम्

प्रणवः सर्ववेदेषु । ७. ८.
एतदेव । १०. ३३.
देवानामस्मि वासवः । १०. २२.
वसुनां पावकशास्मि । १०. २३.
एवमेव । १०. २१.
रुद्राणां शंकरशास्मि । १०. २३.
महर्षीणां भृगुरहम् । १०. २५.
देवर्णीणां च नारदः । १०. २६.
धेनुनामस्मि कामधुक् । १०. २८.
सिद्धानां कपिलो गुनिः । १०. २६.
वैनतेयश्च पञ्चिणाम् । १०. ३०.
पितृणामर्यमा चास्मि । १०. २९.

प्रह्लादशास्मि दैत्यानाम् । १०. ३०
नक्षत्राणामहं शशी । १०. २१.
— यज्ञन्दिमसि तत्तेजो विद्वि मामकम् ।
पुष्यामि चौपधीः सर्वाः सोमो गूल्वा
रसात्मकः । १५. १८-१३.
वित्तेशो यक्षरक्षसाम् । १०. २३.
एतदेव । १०. २७.
वरुणो यादसामहम् । १०. २९.
ज्योतिषां रविरंशुमान् । १०. २१.
यदादित्यगतं तेजो जगाङ्गसयतेऽखिं
लम् ।
तत्तेजो विद्वि मामकम् ॥ १५. १२.
नराणां च नराधिष्ठम् । १०. २७.
उच्चैऽवसमश्वानाम् । १०. २७.
यमः संयमतामहम् । १०. २९,

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| २८. सर्पाणामस्मि वासुकिः | इदमेव । १०. २८. |
| २९. नागेन्द्राणमनन्तोऽहम् | अनन्तशास्मि नागानाम् । १०. २९. |
| ३०. मृगेन्द्रः शृङ्गिरं छिणाम् | मृगाणां च मृगेन्द्रोऽहम् । १०. ३०. |
| ३१. तीर्थानां स्रोतसां गङ्गा | स्रोतसामस्मि जाहवी । १०. ३१. |
| ३२. समुद्रः सरसामहम् | सरसामपि सगारः । १०. २४. |
| ३३. आयुधानां धनुरहम् | आयुधानामहं वज्रम् । १०. २८. |
| ३४. त्रिपुरां धनुष्यताम् | रामः शशभृतामहम् । १०. ३१. |
| ३५. खिष्ण्यानामस्म्यहं मेरुः | मेरुः शिखारिणामहम् । १०. २३. |
| ३६. वनस्पतीनामश्वथः | अश्वथः सर्ववृक्षाणाम् । १०. २६. |
| ३७. स्कन्दोऽहं सर्वसेनान्याम् | सेनानीनामहं स्कन्दः । १०. २४. |
| ३८. यज्ञानां ब्रह्मयज्ञः | यज्ञानां यज्यज्ञोऽस्मि । १०. २५. |
| ३९. धर्माणामस्मि संन्यासः | मागवतप्रोक्तब्रह्मयज्ञो गीतास्वेवं वर्ण्यते
—४. २४. |
| ४०. गुद्धानां सूर्यते मौनम् | मृद्धार्पणं ब्रह्महविः ब्रह्माभ्यौ म्रद्धणा
हुतम् । |
| ४१. कृतूनां मधुमाघवौ | ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यं ब्रह्मकर्मसमाधिना ॥ |
| ४२. मासानां मार्गशीषोऽहम् | कर्मफलसंन्यासश्च पदे पदे गीतासु
गीयते । |
| ४३. द्वैपायनोऽस्मि व्यासानाम् | मौनं चैवास्मि गुद्धानाम् । १०. ३८. |
| ४४. कवीनां काव्य आत्मवान् | कृतूनां कुमुमाकरः । १०. ३५. |
| ४५. व्यवसायिनामहं लक्ष्मीः | तथैव । १०. ३५. |
| ४६. कितवानां छलग्रहः | मुनीनामप्यहं व्यासः । १०. ३७. |
| ४७. सत्त्वं सत्त्ववतामहम् | कवीनामुशना कविः । १०. ३७. |
| ४८. ओजः सहो चलवतां | व्यवसायोऽस्मि । १०. ३६. |

५९. तेजस्तेजस्विनामहम् तथैव । १०. ३६.
 ५०. अहं विद्धि सत्त्वताम् वृष्णीनां वासुदेवोऽस्मि । १०. ३७.
 ५१. गन्धमात्रमहं सुवः पुण्यो गन्धः पृथिव्यां च । ७. ९.
 ५२. अपां रसश्च परमः रसोऽहमप्यु । ७. ८.
 ५३. तेजिष्ठानां विभावसुः तेजश्चास्मि विभावसौ । ७. ९.
 ५४. प्रज्ञा सूर्येन्दुताराणाम् प्रज्ञास्मि शशिसूर्ययोः । ७. ८.
 ५५. शब्दोऽहं नभसः परः शब्दः खे । ७. ८.
 ५६. वीराणामहमर्जुनः पाण्डवानां धनञ्जयः । १०. ३७.
 ५७. भूतनां स्थितिरूपत्तिः अहं सर्वस्य प्रमत्वः । १०. १.
 अहं वै प्रतिसङ्क्रमः यज्ञापि सर्वभूतानां शीजं तदहमर्जुन ।
 १०. ३९.
- शीजं मां सर्वभूतानां विद्धि पार्थ सनातनम् । ७. १०.
 प्रभवप्रलयस्थानं निधानं शीजमव्ययम् ।
 ९. १८.

५८. आन्वीक्षिकी कौशलानां अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां
 विकल्पः ख्यातिवादिनाम् वादः प्रवदतामहम् । २०. ३२.
 गीतासु विभूत्यध्याय इतरत्र वा न इष्टः काशन विभूतयो
 भागवत उल्लिखिताः । ता इमाः—

- | | |
|---|--|
| १. बहं गतिर्गतिमताम् | अष्टतया वर्णयते) |
| २. महतां च महानहम् | २. वर्णानां प्रथमोऽनघ |
| ३. सूक्ष्माणामप्यहं जीवः | ३. ब्रतानामविहिसनम् |
| ४. हिरण्यगभो वेदानाम् | ४. ऋणां तु शतरूपाहम् |
| ५. तितिक्षास्मि तितिक्षूणाम् | ५. पुंसां स्वार्थभुवो मनुः |
| ६. भूखराणामहं स्थैर्यम् | ६. नारायणो मुनीनां च |
| ७. धातूनामस्मि काषनम् | ७. कुमारो ब्रह्मचारिणाम् |
| ८. आश्रमाणामहं तुर्यः (महा-
भारतेऽन्यत्र च गार्हस्थ्यमेव | ८. क्षेमाणामवहर्मतिः
९. उद्धवो भागवतेषु । |
| | विभूतीनां वर्णनां परिसमाप्यन् गीताचार्य वाह—नान्तोऽस्ति
मम दिव्यानां विभूतीनां परन्तप । |

भागवते इश्यते—संख्यानं परमाणूनां कालेन कियते मया ।
न तथा मे विभूतीनां सूजतोऽण्डानि कोटिशः ॥

गीतासु—एष लूदेवतः प्रोक्तो विभूतेविस्तरो मया ।
भागवते—एतास्ते कीर्तितास्सर्वासंक्षेपेण विभूतयः ।

किञ्च सङ्घ्रहेणैव सर्वा विभूतयः सञ्ज्यन्ते गीतासु—
यद्द्विभूतिमत् सत्त्वं श्रीमद्भूजितमेव वा ।
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोऽशसंभवम् ॥

भागवते चैवमेव—

तेजः श्रीः कीर्तिरैश्वर्यं ह्रीस्त्यागः सौभगं भगः ।
वीर्यं तितिक्षा विज्ञानं यत्र यत्र—स मेऽशकः ॥ (४०)
यः कर्मफलसंन्यासः, ईश्वरे कर्मार्पणम्, गीतासु प्रतिपादते स
भागवते व्यासाचैवं नारदेन प्रोक्ष्यते—

आमयो यश्च भूतानां जायते येन सुब्रत ।
तदेव ज्ञामयं द्रव्यं न पुनाति चिकित्सितम् ॥
एवं नृणां कियायोगाः सर्वे संभूतिहेतवः ।
त एवात्मविनाशाय कल्पन्ते कल्पिताः परे ॥
१. ५. ३४.

उद्धवाय चैतदेव भगवानप्याह—

मयोदितेष्ववहितः स्वधर्मेषु भद्राश्रयः ।
वर्णाश्रमकुलाचारमकामात्मा समाचरेत् ॥

* * *

निवृत्तं कर्म सर्वेत प्रवृत्तं मत्परस्त्यजेत् ।
चतुर्थं स्कन्धे (अध्या० २५-२९) प्राचीनवाहिपे नारद एवमाह
'ज्ञानं कर्मणो गरीयः' इति—

यथा हि पुरुषो भारं शिरसा गुरुमुद्दहन् ।
तं स्कन्धेन स आधते तथा सर्वाः प्रतिक्रियाः ॥
नैकान्ततः प्रतीकारः कर्मणां कर्मे केवलम् ।
द्वयं श्वविद्योपसृतं स्वप्ने स्वप्न इवानव ॥

अयं च ज्ञानयागः, अरण्यगमनं च, भोगैर्वर्यप्रसक्ताय कामात्मने
जन्मकर्मफलप्रदे कर्मणि लुठते पुरुषाय उपदिश्यते । किन्तु यदा अपरो
राजा प्रियव्रतनामकः अरण्यं यियासति तदा तस्य विरक्तस्य कर्म नैव
वन्धाय कल्पेतेति कर्मयोगनिरूपणपूर्वकमरण्यगमननिवारणं कियते—

“जितेन्द्रियस्यात्मरतेवृधस्य

गृहाश्रमः किं तु करोत्यवद्यम् । ” ५. १. १७. इति ।

कर्मयोगनामकगीतातृतीयाध्यायप्रोक्तः कर्मयोगो भगवतो
भगवते तत्र तत्र स्वयमाचरणेन उपदेशेन च निरूप्यते । यद्दिना
शरीरयात्रापि य प्रसिद्धेत्, यच्च कुर्वन्नपि तत्कलसंन्यासेन,
तस्य भगवति समर्पणेन, तस्य भगवदन्वर्चनरूपतया करणेन
पुमान् मुच्येत, नैतेन बध्येत च, तत् कर्म कर्वं समनुष्टेयमिति
भगवानेव पन्थाने दर्शयति । स एव मार्गदर्शीभवन् अस्माकं नायकीभवन्
अस्माकमुत्तमः, ‘पुरुषोत्तमः’ इति पदभाषिरोहति । तस्येच्छावशात्
विवर्तमानेऽस्मिन् संसारचके पतितमात्मानं जानन्, ‘अहं करोमि’
इत्यहंकारं दूरीकृत्य, तस्य केवलं निमित्तमात्रं भवन् तस्य कर्म योगी
करोति*; कुर्वन्न यज्ञोऽधिगच्छति । यथा चास्माकमसङ्गकर्मकरणे
भगवानेव दृष्टान्तः, तथा भगवतपुराणे सुध्वेवमुच्यते भगवतो
श्रृणुभावतारे—

“भगवानृष्टभसंज्ञः आत्मतन्त्रः स्वयं नित्यनिवृत्तानवर्यपरपरः
केवलानन्दानुभवः इत्यर एव विपरीतवत् कर्माण्यारम्भमाणः कालेन
अनुगतं धर्ममाचरणेन उपशिष्ययन् अतद्विदाम्, समः, उपशान्तः,
मैत्रः, काशणिकः धर्मार्थयशःप्रजानन्दामृतावरोधेन गृहेषु लोकं
नियमयत्—

यद्यन्तिर्विषयाचरितं तत्तदनुवर्तते लोकः । ” (५. ४.)

गीतासु—‘यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः’ इति ।

एवं च भगवानेव न केवलं धर्मस्य मूलम्, वक्ता च, किन्तु
गोप्ता निरूपयिता, शिक्षयिता च । गाहॄस्म्यासकं भगवन्तमालोक्य
नारदो विस्मयमाप । भगवांस्तु विस्मितं तमाह—

*गीता १८. ४५-६१; ११. ३१-३२.

ब्रह्मन् धर्मस्य वक्ताहूं कर्ता तदनुमोदिता ।
तच्छक्षयं होकमिममास्थितः पुत्र, मा खिदः ॥

(दशमे, उत्तरे ६२, ४०)

तृतीयस्कन्धे विद्युरमेवमाह उद्भवः—
मगवानपि विश्वात्मा लोकवेदपथानुगः ।
कामान् सिष्वेद्वार्वत्यामसक्तः सांख्यमास्थितः ॥ ३. ३. १९,

उपरि उच्यते इदं परशुराममन्तरा—
ईजे च मगवान् रामो यत्रास्पृष्टोऽपि कर्मणा ।
लोकस्य ग्राहयश्चाशो यथान्योऽधापनुत्तये ॥ १०. उत्तरार्थं ८२. ४.

नारद इव विस्मित उद्भवथ तथैव कर्मयोगिनं मगवन्तमाह—(तृतीये
स्कन्धे)—

कर्माण्यनीहस्य, मवोऽभवस्य ते,
दुर्गाश्रयोऽधारिभयात् पलायनम् ।
काठान्मनः, यत्प्रमदावृताश्रयः
स्वात्मनर्ते, खिद्यति धीर्विदामिह ॥ इति (३. ४. १६.)

एवं लोकस्य मार्गदर्शितव्या अनवरतम् बसक्ति कर्मणि गुज्जानस्य
सर्वनियामकस्य मगवतो गानो वा अहंकारो वा नैवास्ति । सुधिष्ठिर-
राजसूये च, भागवते कथ्यते, दुर्योधनादिभ्यो महतोऽधिकारान्
दत्त्वा स्वयं समागतश्चापादावनेजनकर्मणि मगवानात्मानं न्ययोजय-
दिति । तमेवंगुणं मगवन्तं मगवतपुराणमेवं स्तीति—

तमीहमानं निरहंकृतं बुधं निराशिषं पूर्णमनन्यचोदितम् ।

नृन् शिक्षयन्तं निजवर्त्मसंस्थितं प्रभुं प्रपद्येऽखिलधर्ममावनम् ॥

एवं च ईहमानोऽपि कर्म कुर्वीणोऽपि नाहंकारेण लिप्यते
मगवान्; न तस्य फलकामना काचित् । तं च कर्मणि को वा चोदयति?
एवमेव परेण अचोदित एव सत्कर्मणि योगी स्वयमेव ईश्वरकर्मकरण-
बुद्ध्या प्रविशति । तस्य मगवतो निमित्तीभवन् स्वकृतार्थता
संपादयति । यतः पृथुराजाय मगवानेवाह—

“मदादेशकरो लोकः सर्वत्राशोति शोभनम्” इति । ४. २०. ३३
“मत्कर्मकृत्” इति गीतामु मगवान् योगिनं वर्णयति । एवं

तत्कर्मकृता भाव्यम् । तदा ईश्वर इव योगी भवति । तेन भगवता सादृश्यं लभते । “मम साधर्म्यमागतः” इति गीताः १२. २० । ईश्वर इव लोकसंघ्रहणं करोति । गीतासु तृतीयेऽध्याये—

‘कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथासक्तिश्चकीर्णुलोकसंघ्रहम्’ (२५) इति भगवतोक्तम् । तथैव मागवते एकादशे स्कन्धे भगवत्वैतदुच्यते—

“अन्याश्च नियमान् ज्ञानी (कुर्यात्) यथाह लीलयेष्वरः”

११. १८. ३६.

इति । समागतं योगिनं विरक्तम् वास्तमवन्तं ब्रह्मण्यं कुचेलं कुशलप्रश्नरूपेण भगवानाह—

“प्राप्यो गृहेषु ते चित्तमकामविहतं तथा ।

नैवातिप्रीयसे विद्वन् धनेषु, विदितं हि मे ॥

केचित् कर्मणि कुर्वन्ति कामैरहतचेतसः ।

त्यजन्तः प्रकृतीर्दीवीः, यथाह लोकसंघ्रहम् ॥”

१०. उत्तरार्थं ८०. २९-३०.

अस्मिन्नेवार्थे ममायं श्लोकः—

अन्यः कृतज्ञमनसा करणे समुक्तो

दत्तान् समर्पयति नैजगुणांस्तदङ्गतौ ।

क्षिप्त्वाक्षतान् स्वशिरसीशकृतौ पुरोधा-

स्तत्कर्मकृद् ब्रजति तत्सदशश्च तत्त्वम् ॥

(मङ्गलम्)

मवभयमपहन्तुं ज्ञानविज्ञानसारं

निगमकृदुपज्ञहे भृङ्गवद्रेदसारम् ।

अमृतसुदधितक्षापाययद् भृत्यवर्गान्

पुरुषमृष्टममाधं कृष्णसंज्ञं नतोऽस्मि ॥ (मागवते ११ स्कन्धे)

पुनश्चेदं मङ्गलं मवतु—

यत्र योगेष्वरः कृष्णो यत्र पार्थो धतुर्खरः ।

तत्र श्रीविंजयो भूतिर्षुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम ॥ (गी० १८. ७८.)

भगवताचैतत् प्रतिष्वनद् वृत्तासुरवाक्यं च मङ्गलं मवतु—

यतो हरिः, विजयशश्रीर्णुणास्ततः ॥ (६. ११. २०.)

CONVENTIONS IN THE ART OF PAINTING.

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, M. A.,
Madras.

The world is full of limitations; and everywhere in every field human agency fails to get the upper hand of Nature and is reduced to the state of, and humiliated to such an extent as to meekly acquiesce in, subserving the powerful laws of the Omnipotent Spirit. Thus when man attempts at building a house in sand or to chisel out a statue from snow his action is frustrated and he has to accept defeat and turn to other materials provided with greater adhesiveness or permanency as the case may be suited for building-construction and figure-carving. When man employs materials he cannot do everything in his own way. His liberties are not so uncurtailed; and the so-called discoveries of means, methods and materials are merely understanding and obeying of Nature's commands. Convention is a process that takes its birth from man's realisation of the limitations that Nature thrusts on him in his means and methods of different executions. Convention has a very wide sphere of activity and is found in every department of life. It is proposed in this note to deal with some of the conventions that obtain in the Art of Painting and its kindred science, Sculpture.

To have a good idea of what conventionalism is it would do well for us to look up Ruskin who argues it at length in the section on modern manufacture and design in his 'The two Paths' and also in his Addenda to his lecture on 'Architecture and Painting'. Speaking of conventionalism by cause of inefficiency of material he says—"If for instance we are required to represent a human figure with stone only, we cannot represent its colour; we reduce its colour to whiteness. That is not elevating the human body, but degrading it; only it would be a much greater degradation to give its colour falsely. Diminish beauty as much as you will, but do not misinterpret it. So again, when we are sculpturing a face we can't carve its eyelashes. The face is none the better for wanting its eyelashes—it is injured by the

want; but would be much more injured by a clumsy representation of them.

"Neither can we carve the hair. We must be content with the conventionalism of vile solid knots and lumps of marble, instead of the golden cloud that encompasses the fair human face with its waving mystery. The lumps of marble are not an elevated representation of hair—they are a degraded one; yet better than any attempt to imitate hair with the incapable material.

"In all cases in which such imitation is attempted, instant degradation to a still lower level is the result. For the effort to imitate shows that the workman has only a base and poor conception of the beauty of the reality—else he would know his task to be hopeless, and give it up at once: so that all endeavours to avoid conventionalism, when the material demands it, result from insensibility to truth, and are among the worst forms of vulgarity. Hence, in the greatest Greek statues, the hair is very slightly indicated, not because the sculptor disdained hair, but because he knew what it was too well to touch it insolently. I do not doubt but that the Greek painters drew hair exactly as Titian does. Modern attempts to produce finished pictures on glass result from the same base vulgarity. No man who knows what painting means, can endure a painted glass window which emulates painter's work. But he rejoices in a glowing mosaic of broken colour: for that is what the glass has the special gift and right of producing."¹

But the above quotation from Ruskin has a bearing only on the limitations imposed on work by the material used for the purpose. We have just like the impossibility of working of hair beyond an indication of it and a total inability to represent eyelashes and colour in sculpture the impossibilities of representation of volume—the three dimensions—in painting; and thus here come in such conventions as light and shade, perspective and foreshortening. All these have reference to the manner of execution as suited to the material on which the workman operates. And we have other conventions pertaining to the contents or the idea of the representation, the subject as it is called. It is this convention regarding representation of a theme that is to be dealt with at some length in this paper.

In such cases conventions rise very high and become noble and sublime. They then assume the proportions of suggestive

1. The Two Paths—Modern manufacture and design.

forces and convey, to the mind of the witness of the execution, ideas more beautiful as suggested ones than matter of fact ones specifically stated. There are pictures and pictures. The most detailed delineation in a picture where nothing is left to suggestion and where finish goes to a point of vulgarity is never so desirable as a suggestive sketch full of idea and thought provoking. Abhinavagupta speaks of pictures rather contemptuously as on a par with Citrakāvya—producing mere wonder and nothing more. But his reference appears to be only to non-suggestive pictures. Convention is that particular suggestion that softens a picture and at the same time gets recognised being understood to connote a certain meaning by a large number of spectators. Just as in Alāṅkāra we talk of Vyaktāvyaktakāminī-kucakalaśa as very beautiful and suggestive and bring it in as an illustration of Vyāñgyakāvya we have the Vyaktāvyakta suggestive picture with healthy conventions as the real force in art.

We have a lot of references in Sanskrit literature where particular conventions denote particular states and emotions. The mudrās and sthānas etc. of Nātya are other methods of expressing the same states and emotions. And as the method of suggestion in Citraśāstra is not very different from that in the Nātyaśāstra as stated in the verses—

यथा दृच्छ तथा चित्रे त्रिलोकयानुकृतिः स्मृता ॥

दृष्टव्यस्थ तथा भावा अङ्गोपाङ्गानि सर्वशः ।

कराश्च ये महा(मया?)दृच्छे पूर्वोक्ता दृपसत्त्वम् ॥

त एव चित्रे विक्षेपा दृच्छं चित्रं परं मतम् ॥ Visnudharmottara,
we have to take into consideration both the arts.

Now to take actual cases: in the representation of a Virahini the accepted convention is the painting of ekaveṇī, malinavastra, pāñḍukapola etc. We have it given in the graphic description of Sītā in the Sundarakāṇḍa of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, and in many other kāvyas. We may just quote Kālidāsa as an example. In the verse—

अथार्दरत्रे स्तिमितप्रदीपे शश्यागृहे मुहुजने प्रकुद्धः ।

कुशः प्रबासस्थकल्लवेषामद्वृपूर्वा वनितामपश्यत् ॥

Raghu. XVI, 4.

we are told that the dress of women separated from their husbands is distinct and easily distinguishable. In another verse

किंयाप्रवस्थादयमस्वराणामजस्तमादृतसहस्रनेत्रः ।

शश्याधिरं पाण्डुकपोलदग्धान् मन्दारशून्यानलकांश्चकार ॥

Raghu. VI, 23.

this dress is explained further. Elaborate explanation is found in the verse—

वैर्णीभूतप्रतनुसिलिलासावतीतस्य सिन्धुः

पाण्डुच्छाया तटरुहतरुचिभिर्जिर्णपौर्णः ।

सौभाग्यं ते सुभगं विरहात्पत्यया व्यञ्जयन्ती

काश्यं येन लजति विविना सुत्यैवेषपादः ॥ Megha. I, 29.

An unmarried girl is easily suggested by a particular arrangement of dress and we have this given in the passage from the *Vidhlhasālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara.

विदूषकः—(स्वगतम्) का पुनरेषा देवीपरिवरे ? (विचिन्त्य) भवतु कौतूहलेन देवी अभिनवामातं लिङ्गमातुलकवातकं मृगाङ्कवर्णं बारं बारं विरचितमहिलायेषं कारयति । तां च दृष्ट्वा अज्ञातपरमार्थेष्वित्रकरैः सैव चित्रे आलिखितेति तर्क्यामि तत्र विस्फोटयिष्ये, विस्मयतु तावस्त्रियवयस्यः । (प्रकाशम्) वर्द्धपरिष्ये भो कुमारिका खलु एतस्या नेपथ्यं लक्ष्यते ।

राजा—यथाह प्रियवयस्यः ।

कर्येति सूचयति वेषविशेषं एव

यन्नीलचोलकवती लिखितात्र चित्रे ।

पाणिग्रहात् प्रसृति तु प्रमदावनस्य

नीवीविशेषसुभगः परिधानमार्गः ॥ Act I.

Sparse ornamentation and a plain apparel suggest a simple life in the woods and the famous example of this is that of Sakuntalā and her companions Priyavardā and Anasūyā in the famous play of Kālidāsa.¹ Profuse ornamentation and an eager

I. राजा—वयस्य । अन्यत्र शकुन्तलायाः प्रसाधनमन्विषेतमत्र विस्मृतमस्मामि ।

विदूषकः—किमिव १

सानुमती—बनवासस्य सौकुमार्यस्य च यत् सदृशं भविष्यति ।

राजा—हृतं न कर्णपर्णिकवन्धनं एसे गिरीषमागम्बविलम्बिकेसेरम् ।

न वा शरवन्द्रगरीचिकोमलं मृणालसजं रचिते स्तनान्तरे ॥

Act VI.

flutter in the case of a maiden for meeting her lord would suggest her to be a Vāsakasajjikā.

All the above named are but a few titbits from literature. We have a separate section in the Viṣṇudharmottara titled Rūpanirmāṇa dealing elaborately with conventions; and it is an interesting and pleasant study to see how particular features and special characteristics suggest particular situations etc. It is most profitable to consider this chapter in detail. In the representation of Daityas, Dānavas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Devas, Gandharvas, Rsis, kings, ministers, Brāhmaṇas etc. separate pramāṇas of each class based on the different calculations like Bhadra, Rucaka etc. and the special distinguishing characteristics are given.

The sages, Gandharvas, Daityas, Dānavas, ministers, astrologers, Purohitas and Brāhmaṇas in general are to be of the Bhadrapramāṇa.¹ The sages are to be represented as lustrous but weak and emaciated, with matted hair, and the Kṛṣṇājina (skin of the black deer) as the uttariya or upper garment.² The Devatās and Gandharvas are to be shown as (not?) devoid of crowns and having a śikhara.³ Brāhmaṇas are to be shown as full of splendour (Brahmavarcas) and wearing white garments.⁴ Ministers, astrologers and royal priests are to be adorned fully and in a gaudy fashion with all sorts of ornaments but they are to be

Thus Sakuntalā and other maidens in the wood deck themselves with flowers. That they wear no golden ornaments is given in the line अये । अनुपकृत्यग्नोऽप्य बनविषकमर्परिचयेनाक्षेषु ता आभरणविनियोगं करोति । Act IV.

1. जग्यश्च सगन्वर्णा देत्याश्च सहदानवाः ।
मन्त्रणश्च महाराज सं(सो ?)वत्सरपुरोहिती ॥
कार्या भद्रप्रमाणेन ब्राह्मणश्च नरेश्वर ।

Dr. Stella Kramrisch translates the word वत्सर— as Śiva. The correct reading as found later on in the text itself is सोवत्सर and it means an astrologer.

2. कर्तव्यस्तत्र कर्तव्या जयाज्ञौपशोभिताः ॥
कृष्णाजिनोचरालङ्गा दुर्बलात्मेष्वा मुहाः ।
3. देवताश्चापि गन्धवी मुकुटेन विवरिताः ॥
कर्तव्यास्ते महाराज शिखरैस्वपशोभिताः ।
4. ब्रह्मवर्चादिनो विप्राः दुर्घान्वरथरात्तथा ॥

shown as wearing turbans and not crowns.¹ Daityas and Dānavas are to be of a terrible aspect i.e. fearful face, with globular eyes, frowning eyebrows and with a gaudy apparel.² Gandharvas are to be of the Bhadraprāmīga, and should be represented as fully beautified with garlands and ornaments, having swords in their hands and flying in the sky or moving on the earth with their wives,³ Kinnaras, Nāgas and Rākṣasas to be of the Mālavya parimāṇa.⁴ Yakṣas are to be of the Rucaka pramāṇa.⁵ An important man (a great man) is to be painted according to Saśaka pramāṇa.⁶ Piśācas, dwarfs, hunchbacks, Pramathagānas and kings are to be done according to their individual natural measurements and forms.⁷ The wives of every one of these are to be painted appropriately to the measurements of their husbands.⁸

1. मन्त्रिणश्च महाराज सोबत्तुरपुरोद्धितौ ।
सवांलङ्घारसंयुक्तनेवोल्वादिमूषणान् ॥
मुकुटेन विहीनास्तु शोणीषान् कारचेष्ट लान् ।

The epithets in the line मुकुटेन etc. which are in the accusative and go with मन्त्रिणः are so translated as to go with दैत्याश्च etc. No such construction is possible since accusative epithets qualify only accusative nouns and nominative epithets nominative nouns.

2. दैत्याश्च दानवाश्चैव कर्तव्या मुकुटीमुखाः ॥
वर्दुलाक्षास्तथा काव्या भीमवक्त्रास्तथैव च ।
तेषामन्युदत्ते नेत्रः कर्तव्यः गुणिर्विपत्ते ॥
3. रुद्रप्रमाणः (भद्रप्रमाणः ?) कर्तव्यास्तथा विचाचरा नृप ।
सफलीकाश्च ते काव्या माल्यालङ्घारधारिणः ॥
खड्गाहस्ताश्च ते काव्या गग्ने वाथवा भुवि ।
4. मालव्यपरिमाणेन किञ्चरोरगरक्षसाः ॥
5. सचकस्य प्रमाणेन यज्ञा: काव्या नराधिप ।
6. शशकस्य प्रमाणेन प्रधानं मानवं लिखेत् ॥
7. विवाचा वामनाः कुञ्जाः प्रमथाश्च महीभुजः ।
मान(ना ?) लिखेतः कामे(लो ?) रूप (पा ?) विष्यमतस्तथा ॥

The construction here is practically impossible. There is no connection between the former line of the śloka and the latter. Hence the suggested readings.

8. स्वानुरूपप्रमाणाश्च सर्वेषां योषितः स्मृताः ।

There is no word in the text for 'traditional' used by Dr. Stella Kramrisch in her translation.

Kinnaras are of two kinds. Those with the face of a horse and a human body and those with a horse's body and a human face.¹ Those with the face of a horse are to be completely decked with jewels and represented as lustrous and carrying musical instruments.² Rākṣasas are to be painted as terrible and with fierce eyes with the hairs all flying up dishevelled.³ Nāgas are to be represented just like gods with an addition of hoods on their heads.⁴ Yakṣas are to be fully ornamented.⁵ The Pramathas of gods, and the Piśācas are to be of no special pramāṇa.⁶ The gaṇas of Devatās should be shown as having the faces of various creatures, should wear different kinds of dresses and carry different weapons; they should also be engaged in multifarious sports and activities.⁷ But all Vaiśravāganās are to be of one type except for four differences, one class, Vāsudevagāna, resembling Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣapāṇa resembling Saṅkarṣaṇa and the gaṇas of Pradyumna and Aniruddha resembling them both.⁸ All these possess the valour of their lord, wear ornaments similar to his, are clear like the moon, and dark like the blue-lotus or like

1. किञ्चरा द्विविधा: प्रोक्ता नृवज्रा हृषिविद्याः ॥
नृदेहाद्वचाभ्यनवाच्य लधान्वे परिकीर्तिताः ।
2. अश्ववत्रास्तु कर्तव्या सर्वालङ्घारचारिणाः ॥
मीतवायसमायुक्ता शुलिमगततत्त्वैव च ।
3. उत्कचा याक्षसाः कार्या विकल्पसाः विभीषणाः ॥
4. देव(वा ?)करताक्ष कर्तव्या नाराः: फलविराजिताः ।
5. सालङ्घाराः स्मृताः सर्वे यक्षास्तोऽभिहिता मया ॥
6. सुराणां प्रमथाः कार्याः प्रमाणेन विवर्जिताः ।
पिशाचाच्चाश्च तथा कार्याः प्रमाणेन विवर्जिताः ॥
7. नानासत्त्वमुखाः कार्याः देवतानां तथा गणाः ।
नानावेशा गहाराज्ञ नानाशुधधरास्तथा ॥
नानाकीर्णाप्रसक्तार्थं नानाकर्मकरास्तथा ।
8. एकरूपास्तु कर्तव्या वैष्णवानां तथा गणाः ॥
तत्रापि तेषां कर्तव्या मेदाश्वत्वार एव च ।
वासुदेवतमाः कार्यां वासुदेवगणाः शुभाः ॥
संकर्णेन लहशास्त्रद्रव्यां तथा स्मृताः ।
प्रसुभेनानिक्षेन लद्रणाः सरक्षास्तथा ॥

the marakata gem with the lustre of sindūra.¹ Veśyāṅganās (prostitutes) are to be of the Rucaka pramāṇa and their apparel should be gaudy in accordance with the laws of śṛṅgāra (love).² Kulastriyah (House wives) are to be of the Mālavyamāṇa and full of modesty. They should wear ornaments but their apparel ought not to be over gaudy.³ The wives of Daityas, Dānavas and Yakṣas are to be represented very beautiful.⁴ The Mātarah (mothers or can it be Saptamātarah?) are to be done according to their form.⁵ The wives of Piśācas are to be drawn according to the form of the Piśāca.⁶ Widows are to be drawn as grey-haired, wearing white clothes and devoid of all ornaments.⁷ Dwarfs, hunchbacks, old ladies and beautiful damsels should be in the retinue of princesses; The Kañcuki amongst them should be represented old.⁸ The Vaīyas are to be drawn according to

1. लक्ष्मीमात्रा: स्मृताः सर्वे तदासुवधयास्तथा ।
मीलोत्तरलदलश्यामाभन्द्रश्यास्तथैव च ॥
2. तथा मरकलाकाराः सिंदूरलहश्यप्रभाः ।

In the above two lines there is no description of the Veśyāṅganās as supposed by Dr. Kramrisch. They are the descriptions of the Vaiśnavaganās.

3. कृचकस्य तु मानेन वेश्याः कार्यस्तथा तिथ्यः ॥
वेश्यानामुद्दते तेषं कार्ये शृङ्खरसमलम् ।

The translation 'calculated to excite erotic feeling' of Dr. Kramrisch is somewhat strained उद्देत means gaudy, not unrestrained'.

4. दैत्यदानवयधाणां राधासानां तथैव च ॥
रूपवत्वस्तथा कार्याः पत्न्यो मनुजसत्तम् ।
5. मातरः स्वेन रूपेण तथा कार्या नराचिप ॥
Mātarah may be Saptamātarah.
6. पिशाचानां च पल्योडपि कार्यस्तद्यूपसंयुताः ।
7. विभृत्कास्तु कर्तव्याचिपः पल्लिसंयुताः ॥
शुक्लश्वपीयानाः सर्वालक्ष्मारवर्जिताः ।
8. कुञ्जा वामनिका इदा तथा रूपवती मचेत् ।
राजस्त्रिणां पर्विते शुद्धः स्वात् कश्चुकी पुनः ॥

The rendering of Dr. Kramrisch 'A hunchbacked, a dwarfish and an old woman also should be (represented) in (their) natural condition' is not correct. Kubjā etc. are given in the feminine specially because they form the retinue of royal women.

to the Rucaka pramāṇa.¹ The Śūdras are to be of the Śāśaka pramāṇa.² In both cases their dress is to be according to their particular caste.³ The women of Daityas are to be painted in the company of their maids.⁴ The artist should take care to paint the commander-in-chief of the army as very proud and mighty, with a ponderous head, broad chest, prominent nose and chin, lusty shoulders, brawny arms and a thick neck, gigantic in his proportions, with three distinct wavy wrinkles on his brow, a broad waist, and with his look directed upwards.⁵ Warriors in general are to be depicted with knitted brows.⁶ With an overbearing look, gaudy dress, and haughty bearing are to be painted armed foot-soldiers.⁷ They are to be of the Karnāṭaka type and should arm themselves with sword and shield.⁸ The bowmen are to be sketched with bare knees having excellent bows in their hands.⁹ Their dress should not be very gaudy and they should wear slippers on their feet.¹⁰ Horses and elephants etc. are to

1. शृचकस्य तु मानेन वैश्वलानं विधीयते ॥
2. शृद्यकस्य तु मानेन शूद्रमानं तथैव च ।
3. बधाजात्यनुरूपेण वेषेण मनुजेभ्यः ॥
4. देत्यादिदोषितां कार्याः परिचारलिङ्गः सदा ।
5. महाविद्या महोरको महानासो महाहनुः ॥
6. पीनस्कन्धमुजसीवः परिमालेन चोन्द्रितः ।
प्रितरङ्गललाटध्य व्योमहार्षिमहाकटिः ॥
7. हतविचिपिदा कार्याः दोनावाः पतिरुजितः ।
8. योजाः कार्यां महाराज प्रायशो सुकृतीमुखाः ॥
9. किञ्चिद्दुदृ(दृ?)तवेशात्म कार्याश्चोदृतदर्शनाः ।
अभ्युद्रुतात्म कर्तव्या आलुवीयाः पदात्मः ॥

It should not be उद्रुत but उदृत since gaudy and simple apparel alone is referred to over and over again. It is not 'short uniform' as Dr. Kramrisch would have it.

8. लङ्घचमीवराः कार्याः कणीटकचपुर्वताः ।

Swordsmen and men with shields are not different as Dr. Kramrisch translates. It is the same foot-soldier that holds both sword and shield.

9. वरवाणघयः कार्या नभज्ञात्म घन्वनः ॥
10. नात्युद्देन वेषेण सोपानल्लात्तथैव ते ।

No 'short dress' is referred to here as Dr. Kramrisch translates.

be painted in the manner described previously.¹ Warriors on elephants are to be generally dark in colour, should wear ornaments and have their hair in the jūtāsara fashion.² The horse-riders are to dress in the northern fashion.³ Bards are to wear gaudy apparel.⁴ Veins should be visible on their necks and their sight is to be upwards.⁵ Heralds are to be tawny and should look sideways.⁶ Warriors with clubs are to be almost like the Dānavas (in their form, might etc.).⁷ Two opposing warriors in battle should not be depicted as swarthy and looking sidewise.⁸ The Pratihāra (door keeper) should have a demeanour neither too proud nor too calm, is to hold a staff and have a sword hanging by his side.⁹ The merchants should have high turbans on their heads.¹⁰ Musicians, dancers and critics of instruments are to wear gaudy dress.¹¹ The most respectable people in town and country are to be depicted with their hair all slowly silvering over with

1. यथोक्तलसामा: कार्याः कुञ्जरास्तुरगादयः ॥
2. हस्तपायोहाल्पु कर्तव्या मुहुः स्थामास्तु वर्णतः ।
कैश्चिक्षटम(स ?) रैः सालङ्गाशस्तथैव च ॥
3. उदीच्छेकशः कर्तव्यास्तुरगाणां तु सादिनः ।
4. उद्धतेन तु वेषेण कर्तव्या बन्दिनस्तथा ॥
5. सिरादश्चितकष्टाभ्य तथैवोन्मुखददयः ।
6. आङ्गानकाल्पु कर्तव्याः कपिलाः केकरेकणाः ॥

केकरेकण need not be 'squint eyed' as Dr. Kramrisch translates. 'Side look' seems to be a happier rendering.

7. किञ्चिद्ग्रन्थसंकाशाः प्रायशो दण्डपाणयः ।

It is warriors with clubs that are described as like Dānavas and not heralds as Dr. Kramrisch holds.

8. न केकराभ कपिलान् युद्धे दृढान् समालिखेत् ॥
9. नास्युभ्रतेन वेषेण न च शान्तेन शस्यते ।
पार्श्वबदेन लज्जेन प्रतीक्षारस्तु दण्डवान् ॥
10. संवेशितशिरस्ताभ्य कर्तव्या बणिगस्तथा ।
11. गायना(का ?) नर्तका ये वा वायवादविश्वदये ? ॥
उद्धतेन तु वेषेण कार्यास्ते मनुजोत्तम ।

वायवादविश्वदये is vague and unintelligible. It might be वायवादविशेषकाः. The suggested text can also mean 'those who can correctly regulate the sound of musical instruments' as Dr. Kramrisch interprets.

age, as decked with auspicious ornaments and dressed in clean raiment, as courteously disposed, affable (not haughty) and sweet tempered (good looking) by nature.¹ The workman is to be represented as engaged in his duty; while the wrestlers are to be depicted as haughty, terrible and tall, with a body of large proportions, a thick neck and a clovelly-cropped heavy head.² Bulls, lions, and other animals are to be painted with suitable back-grounds as we see them in nature *i.e.*, the bulls in the meadows, the lions in the forest and so forth.³ These descriptions given are for those not generally seen (*i.e.*, for knowing those things of these which by chance one has not seen. If one has seen actually the things described he has to paint them from nature).⁴ A thing seen should be painted as it is without any difference since *sādṛśyakarana i.e.*, faithful delineation is the most important factor in a picture.⁵ People born in different countries are to be painted according to the form of their features, colour and apparel and the artist has to carefully use his discretion in discriminating and painting properly after ascertaining their land, occupation, position and work, their seals, their couches, their vehicles and their dress.⁶ Rivers should be painted as having bodies. They are to be with vihāras, should hold Pūrṇakumbhas

1. आसन्नप्रविलिः कार्यः स्वभूषणविभूषितः ॥
पौरजानपदः खेषः शुभमवलविभूषणः ।
प्रसुतग्रथणः प्रकृतः लवनालप्रियदर्शिनः ॥

Dr. Kramrisch translates as 'stooping forward 'and' ready to help.'; but this does not seem to be warranted by the text.

2. स्वनकमौपत्करवयमः कार्यः कर्मकरो जनः ।
ग्रीष्मावः पीनगात्राश्च पीनश्रीष्मिरोधरा: ॥
ठग्राश्च नीचकेशाश्च महा: कार्यास्तयोदृताः ।
3. कृताः केसरिणश्चैव यात्प्रान्त्याः सत्त्वजातयः ॥
यथाभूमिनिवेशास्ते लोके हृष्ट्वा नगाधिप ।
4. एतद्रूपसमूदैशबहुवानां तवेरितम् ॥
5. हृष्टं सुसहशं कार्यं सर्वेषामविशेषतः ।
चिन्ने सादृश्यकरणं प्रथाने परिकीर्तितम् ॥
6. बुद्ध्या रूपं वथावेशं नर्णं च मनुजोत्तम ।
देशो देशो नराः कार्यं वथावत्तलमुद्धवाः ॥
देशं नियोगं स्थानं च कर्म बुद्ध्या च वक्तवः ।
आसने शयनं यानं भेदं कार्यं नराधिप ॥

(i.e., pots full of water) in their hands and have their knees bent.¹ In drawing mountains the peak(sikharā) is to be shown at the top of the head.² The earth is to be shown with the islands for its hands.³ The oceans are to be painted as bearing jewelled jars and having the sikharā mudrā on their hand.⁴ In the halo of the ocean (personified) there should be water depicted.⁵ A sign of water (wavy lines) is to be depicted about the tip of their weapons.⁶ Kumbha (pot) is to be drawn for representing nidhi (treasure) in general. Saṅkha is to be drawn for Saṅkhanidhi, Padma for Padmanidhi and so forth for other varieties i.e., Mahāpadma, Makara, Kaocchapa, Mukunda, Kunda, Nila and Vara.⁷ Every detail of an activity should conform to the mūrti (body of figure) drawn.⁸ Thus the divine ones should be specially marked off by an akṣamālā (rosary) and bock.⁹ Hereafter we pass on to the form of things as we see them actually.¹⁰ The

1. सरितो च शरीराणां वाहनानि प्रदर्शयेत् ।
पूर्णकुम्मकरा: कार्यस्तथा नामितवानवः ॥
2. दीपानां शिखां गूँडे दर्शयेन्मनुजोत्तम ।
3. दीपानां च लैः कार्यं तथा मूर्मण्डलं शुभम् ॥ ३

This line is unintelligible. But Dr. Kramrisch somehow suggests some meaning.

4. राजस्तथा शिखरपात्रः ।
रत्नप्रकरा: कार्यः दागया मनुजोत्तम ॥
5. समुद्राणां प्रभास्थाने सलिलं तु प्रदर्शयेत् ।
6. आदुषानां च तच्छु किञ्चिन्मूर्धनि दर्शयेत् ॥

Here Dr. Kramrisch's translation of मूर्धनि as the head of the ocean is not appropriate. It is the tip of the weapon meant. The personified ocean holds the weapon in the hand and it can never be on the head.

7. निर्भीनां दर्शयेत् कुम्मं दश्मं शश्मस्य दर्शयेत् ।
पञ्च प्रस्तव राजेन्द्र शेषाणामनुरूपतः ॥

There is no question of 'tank' here. निर्भि is treasure. Treasure in general is represented by a pot. The other special types of treasures (navanidhi) are also given later. Dr. Kramrisch does not correctly translate the Nidhi portion.

8. कार्यस्थावपवा: कार्यः स्वदैशसद्वा: तृथक् ।
9. दिव्यानां दर्शने चिह्नमध्यमालां च पुस्तकम् ॥
10. अतः परं प्रबक्ष्यामि रूपं यथस्य दृश्यते ।

sky is to be colourless and full of birds.¹ The heavens are to be full of stars.² The earth is to be wild and arid or marshy and full of water according to its soil.³ The mountain is to be drawn with chains of rocks, peaks, mountain colours, trees, waterfalls (mountain streams) and snakes.⁴ The forest is to be shown as possessing different trees, birds and beasts.⁵ Water is to be depicted in picture by a number of fish, tortoises, swans and other aquatic animals.⁶ By means of picturesque temples, palaces and bazaar streets and beautiful royal highways is to be depicted a town in picture.⁷ A village is to be shown by drawing roadways with some gardens and groves on either side.⁸ All fortresses are to be shown as having a suitable background, a rampart wall, battlements and mountains.⁹ The bazaars are to be painted as having all wares; the अधनभूमि (अपानभूमि?) is to be full of men busy drinking wine.¹⁰ Gamblers are to be shown without an upper cloth; the losers are to be painted sorrowful and the winners full of joy.¹¹ The battlefield is to be

1. आकाशे दर्शयेद्विद्वान् विष्वर्णे स्वगमा(से !)कुलम् ॥

2. तथैव दर्शयेद्वाजंल्लारकामपिदते दिवम् ।

3. मृमि च जाङ्गलानपमिथो स्वैः स्वैस्तथा गुणैः ॥

Dr. Kramrisch's translation here does not take into account the two words जाङ्गल and अमृम.

4. पर्वतं तु शिलाजालैः शिलैरर्बादुभिकुम्भैः ।

निर्झरैर्मुजरीशैव दर्शयेत्तुपसत्तम् ॥

5. वनं नानाविषेषंसंर्पिद्वैः शापदेवतया ।

6. तेऽयं च दर्शयेद्विद्वानननैर्मन्यस्यकच्छैः ॥

पशास्त्रेभ्य महाराज तथान्यैक्तेजैर्यैः ।

7. देवतावेदमनिष्टित्रैः प्रातादपणवेदमभिः ।

नगरं दर्शयेद्विद्वान् राजमार्गेभ्य शोभनैः ।

8. वमत्वा दर्शयेद्विद्वान् किञ्चिद्विद्वानभूषितम् ॥

The word वमत्वा has no meaning. It might be वत्तमना.

9. लैवेपामय दुर्गाण्या कर्तव्यं दर्शनं तथा ।

स्वभूमिविनिवेशेन वप्राप्तालकपर्वतैः ॥

10. पश्यतु चास्तु कर्तव्यास्तथैवापणभूमयः ।

आशा(पा !)नमूमिः कर्तव्या पानयुक्ता(क !)नराङ्गल ॥

11. उत्तरियविहीनाश्च शूलसंक्तान् प्रदर्शयेत् ।

जिताङ्गोऽक्षमामुक्तान् दृष्टाङ्गव्यास्तथा ॥

suggested by drawing the caturaṅgabala (cars, elephants, horses and footmen), warriors furiously fighting, and blood flowing about the corpses of dead soldiers.¹ The burial ground is to be suggested through (funeral) piles of logs and dead bodies.² A way is to be shown by drawing caravans fully loaded.³ Night is to be suggested by painting the moon and stars, thieves stealthily approaching and people fast asleep.⁴ In the first half of the night is to be shewn the Abhisārikā; and the dawn is to be shown by the red streak and the cock's crow.⁵ The day is to be shown by men being drawn as actively at work.⁶ The evening Sandhyā is to be shown by painting the dvijas (Brāhmaṇas) engaged in contemplation.⁷ Darkness is to be suggested by thieves moving about the house.⁸ Moonlight is to be shown by the bloom of the blue waterlily.⁹ (.....?). The heat of the sun is to be shown by depicting fatigued people.¹⁰ The spring reason is to be

1. चतुरङ्गबलेषतां प्रदर्शितन्तेर्युताम् ।
मृतावचवरकालयो रणभूमि प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
2. चिताकुणपसंयुक्तं दमशानं च तथा नृणां ।
3. युक्तं समारैरुद्धृष्टैर्मार्गं सार्थं (ये !) प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
4. स चन्द्रज्ञहनश्चर्वा तथा दर्शितलौकिकाम् ।
आसन्नहत्यकारां रात्रिं दर्शयेत् मुसगानवाम् ॥

The translation of लौकिकाम् by those engaged in wordly pleasures as given by Dr. Kramrisch is, though doubtful, the best possible explanation under the circumstances.

5. प्राप्राते दर्शयेत्तत्र तथा विकामिलारिकाम् ।
साक्षणो मलानदीपश्च प्रत्यूषो रुतकुपकुटः ॥
6. कर्मव्यग्रजनप्रायः कर्तव्यो वान(स !)रस्तथा ।

'Or a man should be drawn as if ready for work' given by Dr. Kramrisch shows that this is an alternative to suggest dawn. It is not so. The text means differently. Active work suggests day time (midday).

7. द्विवैर्वियमभियुक्तां रक्तां सन्ध्या प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
8. तमसो दर्शनं कार्यं वासे संसापकीर्तैः ।
9. कुमुदानां विकाशो(दे !) च ज्योत्स्नां चन्द्रे प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

The next two lines are unintelligible here. How Dr. Kramrisch translated them into 'petals of the lotus flower should be closed' etc., is not clear.

10. प्राणिनां लेशतप्तानामादित्येन(तस्य !) निवर्णनम् ।

shown by drawing trees full of blossoms) cuckoos and bees, and men and women gay and happy.¹ Summer is to be shown by sketching animals under the shade of trees, buffaloes bathed in mud and dried-up lakes.² Overhanging clouds (full of water), the rainbow, the lightning, and birds biding in the trees and lions and tigers in their dens are suggestive of the rainy season.³ The Sarat season is shown by trees full of fruits, fields of ripe corn and sheets of water full of swans and lotuses.⁴ Hemanta (winter) is depicted by a misty atmosphere, and barren earth with a dew-besprinkled surface.⁵ Śiśira (cold season) is to be shown by drawing joyous crows and elephants, shivering men and a dewy atmosphere.⁶ By a look at the fruits of blossoms of trees, the mirth and joy of people, in short by a look at the world around one has to know the seasons.⁷

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1. शूष्यैवसन्तानेः कुहैः कोकिलानधुपोत्कौः ॥
प्रदृष्टनरनारीकं वसन्तं च प्रदर्शयेत् ।
 2. छान्तैः कार्यं नरेऽर्थं मृगैश्चायागतेत्तथा ॥
महिषैः पङ्कमलैस्तथा शुक्कचलाशयम् (यैः !) ।
 3. विहङ्गैङ्गमसंलीनैः सिंहव्याप्तिरुद्धारतः ॥
तोयनम्भवेनैर्दुर्जं (!) उन्नत्वाणावभूयौः ।
विशुद्धिद्वयैर्दुर्जुकां प्रातृपं दर्शयेत्तथा ॥
 4. सकलद्वृग्मसंयुक्तां पक्षस्तथां वसुन्धराम् ।
संहस्रपद्मसिंहलां शरदं त्रु तथा लिखेत् ॥
 5. संकाष्ठसिंहलह्यानं तथा लुनवसुन्धरम् ।
सनीहारदिग्नानं च हेमन्तं दर्शयेदृशुधः ॥
 6. हृष्वायसमातङ्गं शीतार्तज्ञमरुकुलम् ।
यिदिरं त्रु लिखेदिदान् हिमच्छब्दिगन्तरम् ॥
कृक्षणां पुष्पफलतः प्राणिनां महतस्तथा ।
कन्दूनां दर्शनं कार्यं लोकान् दृष्ट्वा नराधिप ॥

* GM - SKHO

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, B.A., (HONS.) D.P. IN GERMAN,
Research Student in Sanskrit,
University of Madras.

As the antecedent of Sanskrit *gacchāmi* (whose root syllable must have been originally unaccented)¹, Bartholomæ set up Indo-European * *g̃ns-sk̄hō*—(See Handbuch der altiran. Dial. section 146 and Kuhn's *zeitschrift* XXVII, 365 ff.).

Brugmann did not regard this reconstruction to be satisfactory, but held *sk̄* and not *sk̄hō* as the original form (See *Grundriss*. English Translation. Volume 1, sections 400, 475, 552, 557). His conjecture was as follows:—*sk̄* was converted into *sf* in the primitive Aryan period which passed into *tſ* (the change of *tſ* from *sf* being not an uncommon phenomenon), and this became in its turn *cck̄* and he instances *pacchas* 'pada by pada' from * *pat-sas* (See *ibid.* section 351) by way of illustration.

Kuhn subscribed to this view as early as 1854 [See *Über das alte s und einige damit verbundene lautwicklung*, Kuhn's *zeitschrift* 3, p. 328 ff. Also compare Ascoli, *Die entstehung der Sanskrit tenuis palatalaspirata* Kuhn's *zeitschrift* 16 (1867), pages 442-449.]

Hirt also agrees with this standpoint. For he says, "Indogermanic *sk̄* ist zweifellos unter gewissen Umständen im Ind. durch *cck̄* Vertreten," [H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*. Teil I. Heidelberg 1927. Section 223, page 245. Compare also Wackernagel *Altindische Grammatik* 1, (1896), section, 134, page 157.]²

H. B. Darbishire (See *Reliquiae Philologicae*; or essays in Comparative Philology Cambridge 1895, edited by R.S. Conway.

1. See J. O. R. M., Volume VIII, Part IV, p. 348, f. n.

Bartholomæ. IP. Anz. 20, 162, H. Hirt, Idg. Gr. Teil V. p. 188.

2. See also H. Hirt, Idg. Gr. Teil IV. Heidelberg. 1928. Section 102, p. 232.

"The Sanskrit liquids", Chapter II, p. 215) observed that Indo-European palatal \hat{k} became s , the dental sibilant, both in Armenian and in Zend, while in Sanskrit it became the palatal sibilant \hat{s} and proceeded to observe that the proto-Indo-European reconstructed form for the Sanskrit cch is only * \hat{sk} which in Iranian became s and in Armenian \hat{s} , for Zend s is only a *pis aller* for \hat{sk} as shown by the variant \hat{p} in the Avesta. (Brugmann. Grundriss, I, section 397.)

Leonard Bloomfield also (cf. "The Indo-European Palatals in Sanskrit" Volume 32, The American Journal of Philology, p. 45) says to the same effect that Sanskrit cch in *gacchati* comes from the primitive Aryan * $t\hat{s}$ < *IE. \hat{sk} .

But Brugmann and others (See Grundriss. English translation Volume 1, section 553, page 406) are of opinion that the antecedent of Sanskrit *chinad-mi*, "I cut off, tear" Latin, *Scindo*; Gothic, *Skaidan*, 'to divide, separate;' O. H. G. *Scutan* is the Indo-European * $\hat{skha}it$ — \hat{skhaid} .

Why do these scholars here alone assume \hat{skh} instead of \hat{sk} ? The answer is obvious. It is Grimm's law of Germanic sound-shift that necessitates such an assumption here. But in the previous case, one seems to be at liberty to assume even \hat{sk} without in any way coming into direct conflict with any established law in Indo-European linguistics.

Brugmann and others seem to have set up IE. * \hat{sk} as the antecedent of cch owing perhaps to the belief that the change of $t\hat{s}$ into cch had taken place in the primitive Aryan. [This change peculiarly belongs no doubt to the separate history of Indian. Pāṇini describes it under the sūtras स्त्रीः स्तुना न्तुः (P. 8, 4, 40), शब्दोऽटि (P. 8, 4, 63) and सरि च (p. 8, 4, 55) so that तद् शिवः is converted into गैच्छनः:]

But the evidence of such a change in primitive Aryan is not conclusive. Therefore the more serviceable IE reconstruction would be simply * $gmu\text{-}\hat{skhō}$ ¹, for the purpose of reconstruction is not to furnish a picture of the parent language, for its own sake, but a background of the historical relations. In short,

1. I owe this suggestion to my revered Professor Mm. Kuppuswami Sāstrigal.

"the reconstructions are only weighed formulae of correspondence plus as much interpretation as the evidence permits."¹

Uhlenbeck (*See A manual for Sanskrit Phonetics*) adopts the form * $\overset{\circ}{g}m\overset{\circ}{s}\overset{\circ}{k}\overset{\circ}{h}\overset{\circ}{d}$ but does not indicate how this reconstruction is more satisfactory than * $\overset{\circ}{g}m\overset{\circ}{s}\overset{\circ}{k}\overset{\circ}{d}-$; so does Thumb (*See Handbuch des Sanskrit. I Teil Grammatik*, section 151, page 113.)

Comment is needless on the more satisfactory nature of the reconstruction * $\overset{\circ}{g}m\overset{\circ}{s}\overset{\circ}{k}\overset{\circ}{h}\overset{\circ}{d}-$. It easily dispenses with the postulation of the change of *t̪* into *tch* in primitive Aryan (which is questionable) and it also more easily and conveniently explains the presence of palatal voiceless aspirate *ch* in Sanskrit *gaechati*.

Fick no doubt seems to be inclined to adopt the hypothesis put forward here although he does not say it in so many words (*See Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen I Teil. Göttingen 1890*, page 34).

In this connection, we have to remember the well known difficulty of the verb-formations in Greek *skidnēmi*, *pitnēmi*, *kirnēni*, *pitnāmai* (G. Meyer Gr. Gr.² section 497²; Brugmann Gr. Gr.² page 156).

The only plausible explanation as H. B. Darbshire says (*See The Sanskrit liquids Chapter II*. The second period page 218, op. cit.) is that offered by Montrou (Class. Rev. Volume III, p. 45 b, cf. also Brugmann I. c. p. 236, Per Persson, Zur Wurzelerweiterung etc. page 176) is that *skidnēmi* belongs to a root *sq[ū]aid³*, *sqhiū*, whence comes the Latin *scindo* Greek. *schisō*,⁴ but the Greek *skidannumi* to a *sqhed*, and that the other verbs were formed analogically (Per Persson analyses the root differently but agrees in principle).

1. Cf. Carl D. Buck, "The Notation of reconstructed IE forms." *Language Volume II*. 1926, page 102.

2. *Vide* H. Hirt. Idg. Gr. Teil IV. Section 131, p. 343. *Also see* Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen. I Teil*, p. 567.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS: BY SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D.; KAMALA LECTURES, PUBLISHED BY THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY; pp. xix, 242; Price Rs. 2.8.0. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras. 1935.

It rarely falls to the lot of men of affairs, especially in this country, to have the time or inclination for philosophic speculation, even where they do not lack the training for it. Though it is true in a sense that every man is willy-nilly a philosopher, such stray philosophising as one inevitably finds indulged in by our public men is remarkable only for its dangerous fragmentariness. It is therefore very refreshing to come across a volume like this, bearing on a subject of great interest to the man in the street as well as the philosopher, and containing such closely knit, carefully balanced reasoning, as one has learned long to associate with the author, both as lawyer and as statesman.

The subject, we are told, was deliberately chosen by the author in preference to a constitutional topic suggested to him by the representative of the founder of the Kamala Lectures. The task set himself by the lecturer was thus in a sense a labour of love. Besides the Preface and an Introductory Chapter, the book comprises twelve chapters. The second, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth chapters relate to general topics such as changes in ethico-legal conceptions, charges against Hindu Ethics, moral progress and so on. The remaining chapters deal with changing moral ideals under particular heads, such as woman, caste etc. The range of literature, Eastern and Western, laid under contribution is extensive. The bulk of traditional learning in India comprising Śruti, Smṛti, Itihāsa and Purāṇa has been fully utilised and the material considered in the light of ideas derived from Lecky, Hobhouse, Westermarck and others. The main thesis is that Hindu moral ideas have not been static, but have changed with the times, adapting themselves to new circumstances, yet without any break of continuity. This conclu-

sion is clearly and unassailably established in the course of the book. With characteristic caution, while he admits the need for legislation in social matters, he yet recognises the possibility of some legislation being unsuitable, as far in advance of public opinion; while noting the continuity in the development of Hindu moral ideals, he cannot but condemn the claim of eternality for the Sanātanadharma. All this is very much as it should be. And so in the main is the reply to foreign critics, who err grievously in comparing the teaching of one religion with the practice of another, lack historical perspective, and fail to note that many of the alleged merits of Western morals are due not to religion as such, but to scientific progress, the spread of education or such other causes.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar is fully alive to the difficulty, if not impossibility of making a dogmatic pronouncement about moral progress. It is difficult, he admits, to compare the moral perfection of one epoch with another or that of one country with another. The operation of the principle of relativity has to be admitted. Even in the change from the belief in the external sanctions of morality, to that in internal sanctions, one cannot be absolutely certain that the change has been for the better. Heaven and hell seem to be "superstitions" that "often become essential elements of happiness." In all this uncertainty, one would expect the almost inevitable conclusion that moral progress is itself a superstition. Yet our author nowhere draws this conclusion. He still seems to pin his faith to the growth of rationalism and the replacement of authoritarian morality by rational morality.

The summary of the principles peculiar to Hinduism is in some ways telling. Most notable are the first and the last in his list, the doctrine of karma and the doctrine of adhikāribheda. But sandwiched in between are some other principles, like ahimsā and toleration, which are hardly likely to pass unchallenged. Again, the statement that the teaching of identity between the Jiva and Brahman "affords a valuable hypothesis of the origin of the notion of obligation", though quite correct, is not self-evident, as seems to have been assumed.

We are grateful to Sir Sivaswami Aiyar for this clear and dispassionate account of Hindu moral development.

S. S. S.

THE SAMKHYAKARIKĀ OF ISVARAKRŚNA: EDITED BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, WITH INTRODUCTION, TEXT IN SANSKRIT AND TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION AND NOTES. PUBLICATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, NO. 3, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. Rs. 2. 4 sh.

The first edition of the book under review was published in 1930 for the benefit of the philosophy students appearing for the B.A. degree examination of the Madras University. The usefulness of the book is proved by the appearance of its second edition so soon. As indicated in the Preface, the earlier edition has been improved by revision and addition. Under the latter come the extracts from an unpublished commentary in the Adyar MSS. Library, of late date, whose author, like Vijnānabhikṣu, interprets Sāṃkhya in the light of Vedānta. Mr. Sastri has pointed out where this new commentary differs in its interpretation from the earlier commentaries.

The translation and Notes are reliable and lucid; they follow the exposition of Vācaspati. In the Notes however are incorporated some interesting points found in the exposition of other commentators also. The translation seems to admit of slight improvement in certain instances: '*Saktīlāḥ pravṛttīś ca*' in Kārikā 15 (p. 43) is rendered "from its functioning through energy." Evidently, 'Saktī' here is the same as that used in Kārikā 9,—'*Saktasya Sakyekarayat*.' In the rendering of the first line of Kārikā 25, the word *Sattvika* in the Nominative should have been taken as an attribute to '*Ekaśaśakāḥ*' and not as qualifying '*Ahaśtārāt*' in the Ablative, as is done.

The Appendix giving the verses of the Sāṃkhya-Kārikā quoted in Bhāṭṭagopāla's commentary on the Br̥hat-saṃhitā and the four Tables at the beginning, on Evolution and Pratyayasarga will be found useful and interesting.

The Introduction forms a substantial part of the book and contains a critical account of certain aspects of the Sāṃkhya. Though the Sāṃkhya is an early system, the works dealing with that system are of late date. Besides Iśvarakṛṣṇa's kārikās, the only early source for reconstructing parts at least of the Sāṃkhya thought, seems to be the Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali; but this harnessing of the Yoga sūtras for an account of Sāṃkhya is yet to be made. The agnosticism, pessimism, etc. of the Sāṃkhya have been dealt with everywhere. Every Darśana has its ethics,

though Keith speaks in his *Sāṃkhya* (*Heritage of India*, p. 99) of "the lack of any ethical side to the Sāṃkhya system." The ethical and practical aspects of the Sāṃkhya is contained in the *Pratyayasarga* and it should be properly investigated. The Introduction refutes in the opening section the theory of the Sāṃkhya being a rebel against the Upaniṣadic thought. Sections VI, VII and VIII of the Introduction form a critique of the Sāṃkhya view of evolution, plurality of Spirits, etc., based on the criticisms of the Sāṃkhya in the *Vedānta* sūtras. One of the chief points in any study of the Sāṃkhya is its name and this, Mr. Sastri discusses, though briefly, in section V.

In the opening section of the Introduction, the author says (p. ii) that in the Sāṃkhya, "the vision of oneness was being sought after" rather than "rebelled against" and at the end of the foot-note on this page, he adds: —"one has to hesitate before subscribing to the view that Kapila sought not to find unity in everything, but variety." But on p. v, the Introduction speaks of the akinness of the Sāṃkhya to Buddhism in its denial of the absolute and on p. vi, of the Sāṃkhya and Buddhism being two different kinds of reaction against absolutism. The Sāṃkhya is famous for its plurality in respect of Spirit, '*Puruṣabahutvam siddham*'. It is hoped that this interesting idea of oneness and unity in Sāṃkhya will be developed in extenso by the author sometime.

We heartily congratulate the author on this interesting and useful publication.

V. R.

THE SAHITVARATNAKARA OF YAINANARAYANA DIKSITA AND THE
RAGHUNATHABHYUDAYA OF RAMABHADRAMBHA. BULLETINS
OF THE SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS.
EDITED BY DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.

When the Prince of Wales programmed to visit South America, he thought of picking up some Spanish. The Reuter flashed the news all over the globe that he had mastered that language in the impossible time of a few weeks. This, loyal ladies and gentlemen read with a thrill; but a western savant reviewing one of the above poems on king Raghunātha of Tanjore contemptuously dismissed the description of the hero's scholarship as absurd and suggested the diversion of the energies of the editor.

King Raghunātha was no amateur littérateur or dilettante. A circle of most fastidious critics who peopled his court acclaimed his scholarship in art and letters. The authors of the very foundation of modern Carnatic music judged and praised his mastery of the Virā when he gave his maiden performance. If Tanjore has become the by-word for music, if Śāstraic scholarship flourished as richly as the 'kalama' and the 'kadali' in the Agrahāras on the banks of the Cauvery and its branches, it is all due to the true love of knowledge of the princes of Tanjore. And on the field of battle, Raghunātha might not have been as great as other heroes of Indian History, but certainly he was a greater warrior than the modern general who 'fights' from a snug room with a map on his table or, if on the field, from a gun-proof distance.

Dr. Chintamani has done well in issuing in print these valuables in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library at Tanjore. That these two poems belong to the small but important class of Historical Poems in Sanskrit adds to their value; and all the more is the interest attaching to the second poem which is the work of a poetess, one of the many that adorned king Raghunātha's court, as Rāmabhadrāmbā herself describes towards the close of her poem. That these ladies were great scholars, masters of the arts of music and dancing and gifted poets and were more truly cultured than the modern blue-stocking is hardly any exaggeration.

The energy spent on the publication of original texts in MSS. is hardly ill-spent, less ill-spent than that spent in publishing instead one's researches. And to judge the importance of a thing, it must not be forgotten that proximity is often times as necessary as distance.

V. R.

THE ADVAITAVIDYĀMUKURA*

BY

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A., B.Sc., Bar-at-Law,
Reader in Indian Philosophy, University of Madras.

Nilakantha Dikṣita, the famous litterateur, and minister of Tirumula Nayak, refers in his *Nala-caritra-nāṭaka*¹ to one of his ancestors, Raṅga Rāja, as the author of several works, such as the *Advaitavidyāmukura* and the *Vivarāṇadarpaṇa*. This Raṅga Rāja is none other than the son of Acārya Dikṣita and the father of the celebrated Appayya Dikṣita. From the latter's acknowledgment of indebtedness to his father's instruction, it is evident that Raṅga Rāja was a scholar of no mean order; but the only reference to his works seems to be in the nāṭaka above-mentioned, and there is little direct knowledge of the works themselves. The Oriental Manuscripts Library at Mysore has the proud distinction of owning a fragmentary copy of the *Mukura*, under the title *Advaitamukura*²; and this shorter name would seem to have been applied to the same work as is evident from some manuscripts of the *Nala-caritra-nāṭaka*. The *Vivarāṇadarpaṇa* of which there is a single manuscript in Nandināgarī script—again fragmentary—in the Tanjore Palace Library,³ is probably the work of Raṅga Rāja. It is here sought to give an account of the contents of the manuscript of the *Advaitamukura* as now available to us in the Mysore Library.

1

The manuscript extends only to the end of the first pariccheda.⁴ The first pages are wanting. In spite of what is

* A paper presented to the All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, December, 1935.

1. See edition in the Bālaśanorāmā Series, p. 3.

2. No. 3353.

3. No. 7064, in the *Descriptive Catalogue* by P. P. S. Sastri. The present paper owes much to the information supplied by this scholar and by Mr. M. Hiriyanna.

4. It is called "pramāṇa-(bhāva)-pratiphalana."

thus missed, what is left forms a fairly self-contained whole. Like the *Advaitasiddhi* of Madhusūdana, it is an attempt to re-establish advaita by answering dualist attacks. The topics covered are almost the same as those treated in the *Siddhi*, in the first hundred pages (of the Kumbakonam edition). The arguments used are the same; and the similarity very often extends to the replies too. Such differences as there are belong to the order of treatment. The refutation of the superiority of perception, the application of the apaccheda-nyāya etc., thus occur at the very end of Raṅga Rāja's exposition, while Madhusūdana finds a place for them early in his discussion. The pūrvapakṣin's position is stated in one lot by Raṅga Rāja, while Madhusūdana lets it develop gradually in answer to various replies of the Siddhāntin. But the nerve of the argument is the same in both writers. It is impossible to judge conclusively on the material before us, which of these is indebted to the other; while the agreement not merely in the pūrvapakṣa but also in the siddhānta precludes the position that each was absolutely independent of the other. It would appear necessary to postulate at least a common source of inspiration for both writers, a source we have so far not discovered.

Another tantalising problem set by the manuscript is that of Raṅga Rāja's identity with the Advaitavidyācārya mentioned so frequently by Appayya in the *Siddhāntaleśasangraha*. The name might have been applied to Raṅga Rāja, either because of his authorship of the *Advaitavidyāmukura* or because Appayya got his Advaita-vidyā from his father.¹ The matter could be settled if one could trace to the *Mukura* any of the doctrines attributed distinctively to the Advaitavidyācārya. But the fragment we have of the *Mukura* does not treat any such topic and we are still left in the region of conjecture. The view of reflection propounded by the Advaitavidyācārya, as expounded in the second pariccheda of the *Siddhāntaleśa*, is said to conform to the position of Vidyāranya; it is that the reflection is a superimposition and not identical with the prototype, as the author of the *Vivaraṇa* holds. The position of Raṅga Rāja on this topic would be conclusive; but unfortunately all that we have is an exposition and adoption of the *Pañcadaśī* view of Iśvara and the Jiva as

1. The former alternative is more likely because of the use of the appellation "advaitavidyā-kṛtah" in some places; see *Siddhāntaleśa* (Kumbakonam edition), p. 272.

both reflections.¹ This amount of concurrence with Bhāratītīrtha may be significant of the further concurrence needed for the Advaitavidyācārya's doctrine of reflection. What we have may be treated as upalakṣaṇa; but it is hazardous to guess the nature of the upalakṣita.

Among the authors and works mentioned are Ānandabodha, the *Brahmāsiddhi*, Citsukha and his *Tattvapradīpikā*, the *Dahśīṇā-mūrtistava* (of Śāṅkara, referred to as the Ācārya), the *Dṛgdrśyaviveka*, the *Iṣṭasiddhi*,² the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā*, the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās*,³ the *Pratyakhtattvaviveka*, Rāmānanda, Vācaspati,⁴ and the *Vivarāṇaprakāśa*.⁵ There is no reference to any writer who could have been closely related in time to both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja. Rāmānanda⁶ is probably identical with the preceptor of Advaitānanda, the author of the *Brahmaridyābhāraṇa*. Readers of the *Kaṇpatara* will have noticed several remarkable verbal similarities to the *Brahmaridyābhāraṇa*. If Rāmānanda was old enough for Raṅga Rāja

1. See pp. 152, 153 of the ms. (copy supplied to the Department of Indian Philosophy, University of Madras).

2. The tag "yāvantī jñānāni tāvanti ajñānāni" is attributed to the *Iṣṭasiddhikāra* by both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja. Though this doctrine is expounded in that work, it does not find expression in that particular form; see *Iṣṭasiddhi*, p. 63.

3. Curiously enough, the Kārikās cited, beginning with "prapañco yadi vidyeta" are referred to as Śruti: "prapañco yadi vidyeta nivarteta na saṃśayah, māyā-mātram idam dvaitam advaitam parಮārthataḥ," 'Indro māyābhīḥ puru-rūpa iyate' ityādeh spaṣṭam eva prapañca-mithyātvā-bodhikāyah śruteḥ" (p. 58). Being a statement of siddhānta there is little likelihood of this being a mere anuvāda of the Mādhyāvāda view that the āgamaprakarāṇa of the Kārikā is Śruti. The point is intriguing and requires explanation.

4. The reference to Vācaspati is made by both Madhusūdana and Raṅga Rāja in the same context and to the same statement about advaita texts being non-subsidiary and hence purportful.

5. This appears to be another work of Raṅga Rāja's, presumably identical with the *Vivarāṇadarpaṇa*. The references to it are to be found on p. 74 and p. 135 of the manuscript,

6. The following quotation occurs on p. 140 of the manuscript.

"satye vastuni sarve'yam doṣā-'doṣanirūpaṇā |
nā'tmā-'śrayādidoṣāḥ syuḥ mithyā-bhūte'tra vastuni ||"

to cite, it is likely that Rāmānanda's pupil's work was old enough to be taken over here and there by Raṅga Rāja's son Appayya. An interesting reference is to what is called bhāvādvaita. As Prof. Hiriyanna has pointed out,¹ this view is attributed to Maṇḍana by Brahmananda. It appears to consist in holding that the absoluteness of abhaya is not inconsistent with non-dualism, since this is interested in maintaining the unity only of positive entities. The available portion of the *Mukura* contains no ascription of the view to any particular writer. It does make it clear, however, that the view is different from that which would look upon abhīva as adhikarana-svarūpa. The former is good enough as a preliminary answer to the objector, but the final position is sarvā-dvaita, according to which the true being of everything—positive or negative—is the Absolute Spirit, Brahman.² The second position is just what is expounded by Maṇḍana in the *Brahmasiddhi*. It is so recognised by Appayya in the *Siddhāntaleśa*.³ It would be very interesting to know why and by whom the other doctrine was ascribed to Maṇḍana in the first instance. Brahmananda, who is known to make the ascription⁴, cites no authority.

II

What we have of the first pariccheda is roughly divided into eleven sections. The first of these deals with the interpretation of scripture as favouring non-dualism. The well-known six marks of purport are mentioned and their consilience shown in respect of non-dualism. Duality though perceived is not ultimate. Scriptural affirmation of what is in the scope of perception would

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1923, p. 261.

2. Cp. the following passage from p. 75: "na hi trikāla-niṣedhasya pāramārthikatvā-svīkāre advaita-hāniḥ, brahmā-tirekena tāttvika-bhāvā-'naśikārāt, vastutas tv asya trikāla-niṣedhasya, tārkikamate prāgabhāvā-bhāvasya pratiyogi-svarūpā-'vyatirekavat, gurumate artha-bhāvasya adhikarana-svarūpā-'vyatirekavac ca, brahma-svarūpād avyatirekāḥ, tad uktam 'nivṛttīr ātmā mohasya' iti."

3. "atha ke'yam avidyā-nivṛttiḥ? ātmā ve 'ti brahmasiddhi-kāraḥ" 4th pariccheda, p. 434.

4. See p. 112, *Laghucandrikā* (Kumbakonam edition).

Even the reference to bhāvādvaita in the *Siddhi*, p. 81, distinguishes it from sarvādvaita which goes with the doctrine of avidyā-nivṛtti as brahma-rūpa.

be repetitive and purposeless. It is not as though a new duality is affirmed; for there is no novelty about this duality; and the cognition of duality is fraught with evil besides, as made clear in more than one unambiguous scriptural text. Non-dualist texts may be distorted by the opponents as in the notorious case of "Tat tvam asi" rendered as "Atat tvam asi".¹ But there is no point in reiterating this perceptually established difference; and if this difference be ultimate, how could the knowledge of *that* alone (*tam eva*) lead to release? Surely the consistent dualist must insist on full knowledge of both terms in the relation of difference, not of one term alone. And the dvaitin's *tour de force* of construction can be easily paralleled by us too; the text "satyam bhidā satyam bhidā satyam bhidā" which according to him is scriptural authority for the absoluteness of difference, really teaches non-dualism; for it says that *satyam*, i.e., the world of *sat* and *iyat*, which is the world of difference, is unreal (on the construction *bhidā + asatyam*); the subsequent words "bhidā satyam bhidā" emphasise this teaching by repetition; the word "*asatyam*" in this relates both forwards and backwards. While the dvaitin's cleverness is thus not unparalleled there is little to be said in favour of the interpretation he seeks to put on scriptural texts. Ātmyam (in *aitadātmyam idam sarvam*) he would take to mean "belonging to that self;" but Ātmyam in the text is really analogous to *traivid�am*, *trailokyaṃ* etc., where no possessive sense is intended or conveyed. To say that "secondless" means without a superior is unnecessarily to restrict the sense of that term; should it mean "not second" why should that be taken as equivalent to "first" and not "third"? To say that the words like "this" and "in the beginning" should be taken to imply the reality of time and the unity of God, not of the world, is to stress certain words unduly; when it is said "This man has no horns" it is not implied that other men have horns. And the denial of a superior or equal does by no means involve the reality of the inferior for an only son has neither elder nor younger.

Nor has the dvaitin's explanation of the *vācārambhapa* text anything to be said in its favour. It is not true that all other languages are derivatives of Sanskrit. Even if they were, they

1. For the discussion of this topic by Madhusūdana, see *Advaitasiddhi* (hereafter referred to as *AS*), pp. 293-299 (Kumbakonam edition).

too would be illusory; for on the opponent's admission, Sanskrit alone is true, eternal. The *Māndūkya-Kārikās* are quite clear in stating the illusoriness of the world. The form of the verse "prapāñco yadi vidyela" etc., has misled the opponent into taking it for a tarka; but in truth it is no more a tarka than words like "Vedāḥ pramāṇam yadi". If it were a tarka, then the consequent "nivarteta na surpāyah" should be capable of being denied. But there is no justification for denying it, inasmuch as even the opponent has to admit sublation, though not its implications.

Not may it be said that, if the illusoriness taught be real, there would be failure of non-dualism, while if it be illusory, scripture would have illusory content and so be non-authoritative. For illusoriness is equivalent to absolute non-existence and the absoluteness of non-existence does not conflict with or detract from the absoluteness of Brahman. Should the opponent, however, say that scripture teaches Brahman to be the self of all, whether positive or negative, with that he should give up his case that scripture has an illusory content; for Brahman is in that case the content.¹

III

The pluralist seeks to establish the reality of the world on the ground of its being known, on the analogy of Brahman. The difficulty in all such arguments is that the *probaṇi* "being known by a pramāṇa that apprehends absolute reality" is not established. Perception which apprehends the here and now cannot apprehend such reality as is unsublatable in all three times. That inference can apprehend it is yet to be proved. Scripture does apprehend it, but not as belonging to the world; further, it sublates any inferred absoluteness of the world. It is not as though Iśvara's immediate cognition of the world guarantees its reality; for His immediacy need be no more than that experienced by the juggler in respect of his tricks; knowing the

1. This section covers almost the same ground as *AS*, p. 10 and pp. 56-65. Remarkable similarities are found in several places, especially on pp. 60 and 61. The former says that apparent repetitiveness, as in *dhārā-vāhika-jñāna*, does not make for invalidity; the latter deals with the contention that when there is re-statement for the sake of refutation there should be such marks as "yat tan na." What is attempted in this paper is the barest outline of the main argument.

illusory as illusory, He is not deluded.¹ Nor does practical efficiency imply pāramārthikatva. On the contrary it implies indeterminability; for the absolutely real has nothing to realise and cannot be efficient, while the absolutely unreal cannot be efficient even because of not existing at all; arthakriyā-kārlita is unintelligible apart from anirvacaniyatva. It is true that Brahman as witness cognises the world; but since the witness is nescience-conditioned, his cognition does not involve the absolute reality of the cognised. This world again is cognised even when there is immediate presentation of the underlying intelligence, which is said to be the sole reality; but the presentation of the real substrate is not inconsistent with the illusoriness of the world-manifestation; rather does the latter demand the former, just as darkness and its colour have to be manifested by light. What removes the darkness of primal nescience is vṛtti-jñāna, not svarūpa-jñāna.

IV

The next task attempted is the establishment of illusoriness by inference grounded on cognisability, inertness and finitude. The five definitions of illusoriness are mentioned and explained in much the same way as in the *Advaitasiddhi*.² The discussion owes much to the *Tattvapradipika* and is much in the same style as the *Siddhi*. The following points are of some interest.

(a) In treating the definition "pratipanno-pādhau traikālikā-niṣedha-pratiyogitvam", reference is made to the bhāvādvaita view, since the definition seems to imply the absolute reality of negation. This, however, is not the final position, since in truth the negation is not real as different from the locus of negation, Brahman.

(b) The difference of the non-real from the unreal is sought to be explained in this way: in nacre-silver etc. (which are non-real), because of similarity to the substrate and relation to it, the ignorance which is located in the substrate and has taken a visual form is transformed into the form of silver; and simultaneously the cogniser's nescience is transformed into the cognition of that silver; but there is no reality other than that of the substrate. In *ka-puṣṭa* &c., however, there are only the defect, *viz.*, the proximity of the two words, and a mediate

1. Cp. AS, p. 101.

2. AS, pp. 2-9.

psychosis of the intellect in the form of the two words taken together; there is no objective content and hence no immediacy.

(c) The advaitin, so far as intellectual inquiry goes, is a sceptic, not a dogmatist. It is not our business to demonstrate illusoriness or anything else. When we have demonstrated that every other position is untenable, we are left with the witness of the condemnation. The mention of definitions and proofs is only in order to conform to this intellect of our opponents. We do not base our final conclusion on the intellect, since non-dualist realisation can come only through the grace of the Lord. In this position our author closely follows the Khaṇḍanakāra.²

V

The illusoriness of illusoriness is treated at some length. The subtler need not always be real, as, in the case of a rope, the snake-delusion is sublatable by a stick-delusion. The self too is the substrate of illusory illusoriness inasmuch as the Baudhas and others have the delusion that it is illusory. But with this the self is not reduced to the same level as the world, since the reality of the former is due to self-hood and self-manifestation, not to sublated illusoriness. Illusoriness is on a par with knowability etc., in its capacity to cover both itself and that of which it is predicated. Illusoriness is part of the world; when the world is

1. "na hy asmābhīr mithyātvam anyad vā kiñcīn nirūpaṇīyam asti. param nirūpyamāna-prapañca-khaṇḍanenaiva vayam iba caritārthāḥ. tatra tatra lakṣaṇā-' bhidhānam tu para-buddhy-anurañja-nāya.. sati caivam sarva-khaṇḍane asmad-abhimata-cid-advaita-siddhiḥ. na cā 'trā'pi khaṇḍana-yukty-avakāśah, antatas tatsākṣi-tayā'pi tatsiddhy-upapatteḥ. advaita-siddhau cā smākam nā'tīva lakṣaṇa-pramāṇā-'darśaḥ, Līvarā'-nūgrahai-'ka-labhyatvāt tasya'" (p. 78 of the ms.).

Such a position must be labelled scepticism, but it is scepticism of an even more rational type than what Bradley subscribes to. "I mean by scepticism the mere denial of any known satisfactory doctrine, together with the personal despair of any future attainment.. Such a scepticism.. may serve at least as a deliverance from spiritual oppression.. For such a scepticism all our truths without exception are mere working Ideas" (Bradley: *Essays in Truth and Reality*, p. 445). Where the advaitin does better is in re-affirming "asmad-abhimata-cid-advaita-siddhiḥ."

2. See *Khaṇḍana*, para 163, verse 251.

shown to be illusory because of cognisability etc., illusoriness which is a part of the world is also shown to be illusory. The principle of excluded middle is of no service, since we do not seek to maintain that the illusoriness of illusoriness is real. Nor does the other alternative involve an infinite regress of mithyātva, since mithyātva, we have said, is analogous to prameyatva.

VI

The three *probans*—cognisability, inertness and finitude—are examined in some detail. The discussion is not very different from that of the *Siddhi*. A point of some interest relates to yogic perception. The pūrvapakṣin says that cognisability cannot mean pervasion by fruit, since this cannot apply to the past or to nityānumeyas, like merit etc. The reply to this is that there may be pervasion by fruit even in these cases where there is yogic perception. The dualist is fond of exploiting this type of perception to cover cases of impossibility like the perception of the tuccha; our author is willing to concede this; yogins may perceive the tuccha, but they would perceive it as tuccha, i.e., as not practically efficient, unlike mace-silver etc.; in this there is no detriment to advaita. It is true Citsukūcārya seems to deny yogic perception, but that is only an abhyugetya-vāda; for we must admit an omniscient Iśvara to whom everything is immediate. His omniscience as the author of the Veda does not necessarily involve its pauruṣeyatva; for, as in our case, when we have learnt it, knowledge of the sense may co-exist with utterance, without preceding and determining the latter. Even pauruṣeyatva is not unacceptable; it does not follow either that validity is extrinsic, since it is known through the same causal aggregate that apprehends the cognition. Nor is there reciprocal dependence in that the validity of the Vedas depends on Iśvara's trustworthiness while the latter has to be known from the Veda; for, the latter is known even from outside the Veda, from the words of well-wishers like one's parents.

VII

The next section relates to the refutation of the allegation that the advaitin's *probas* is affected by an adjunct. The matter covered is the same as that treated by the *Siddhi*, in the two sections on sopādhikatva-bhaṅgah and ābhāsa-sāmya-bhaṅgah.¹ The

1. AS, pp. 19-20.

arguments are almost identical, the only notable distinction being that the *Siddhi* mentions the *drṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda*, which finds no mention in the available fragment of the *Mukura*. Further in refuting the two upādhis suggested,¹ the *Siddhi* urges two objections—that in the case of *dehātmakya*, sublatable by Brahman-knowledge alone, the upādhi² is not pervasive of the *probandum*, and that the qualification, as tending to exclude only *sapakṣa*, is on a par with *pakṣetara*; the *Mukura* mentions the latter objection in some detail, but not the former.³

VIII

Are these *probans* themselves illusory or not? If not, there is failure of non-dualism. If they too are illusory, how can they establish anything? This discussion covers the same ground as two sections of the *Siddhi*⁴ and employs nearly the same arguments. The similarity is very great indeed in the statement of the pūrvapakṣa, especially in the mention of instances to show that the practical efficiency of delusive cognition is due to the element of cognition which is real, not to the content which is unreal, and that though the latter defines the former, it is intelligible that it is passive and does not contribute to the causality of the cognition; to exhibit this passivity of the defining element, the pūrvapakṣin in the *Siddhi* cites eleven instances; the *Mukura* mentions only six of these:⁵ 'Now, it would be an undue extension to say that the cause is what is undefined by a content; and if the cause is what is so defined, the content too would be a cause.' If this be said, no; for though there is causality (1) for the prior non-existence of the pot in respect of the pot, (2) the non-existence of specific cognition in respect of delusion, (3) the non-observance of what is obligatorily enjoined in respect of sin, (4) the desire for heaven in respect of sacrifice, (5) the knowledge of the past etc., in respect of misery etc., and (6) the mediate knowledge of the unreal content in respect of the empirical usage about

1. In the *Siddhi*; in the *Mukura* enumeration there are five upādhis; this is because its treatment includes matter that appears in the immediately subsequent section of the *Siddhi*.

2. *Svabādhakā-* *bhimatā-* *bādhyā-* *dōṣa-* *prayukta-* *bhānatvam*.

3. Can this be taken along with others as an indication of the *Mukura* being anterior to the *Siddhi*?

4. AS, pp. 65-73; the sections are on *asatas* *sādhakatvā-* *'papattiḥ'* and *asatas* *sādhakatvā-* *'bhāva-bādhakam'*.

that, yet that which defines in each case—the pot, the cognition of difference, the observance of what is enjoined, heaven, the past etc., or the unreal—is not so (the cause). In all these cases it is intelligible that the thing which defines is indifferent and non-causal, like the qualifications 'of the Kurus' in 'the land of the Kurus is real'."

IX

The advaitin seeks to strengthen his position by setting forth indirect arguments (*tarkas*) in favour of the illusoriness of the world. One such argument is that if the world were independently real there would be no possibility of the cognition thereof, since no real relation is intelligible between knowledge on the one side and an inert reality standing over against it on the other. This criticism of a real relation between *dṛṣṭ* and *dṛṣṭya* occurs as a separate section in the *Siddhit*, but is treated with perhaps more justification as part of the *anukūla-tarka-prati-phalana* in the *Mukura*. The pūrvapakṣin attempts every time to derive reality for the world on the analogy of Brahman, and *per contra* the unreality of the latter on the analogy of the world. Our author is never tired of pointing out that Brahman's reality is self-manifest; it does not depend on the illusoriness or non-illusoriness of relation to anything else; and the illusoriness of the world follows not because its relation to knowledge is illusory, but because it is cognisable, inert and so on. This is the basic ground. Hence it is that no parity can be made out between Brahman and the world even on the ground of indeterminability. It is true that we cannot define Brahman as thus or thus, yet it is real, since it is self-luminous and is not cognisable, inert or finite; the world, however is not thus. The rest of the treatment is almost identical with that of the *Siddhit*.

X

The manifestation of particular objects at stated times and through specific means is held by the opponent to be a difficulty the advaitin cannot lightly get over. The advaitin replies that since self-manifest intelligence is beginninglessly obscured by nescience, whose existence is not inconsistent with *svarūpa-jñāna*, it is necessary for defined intelligence to go forth through sense-

1. AS, pp. 73-77; *anukūla-tarka-nirūpaṇa* in this work covers, pp. 77-86.

channels in the form of a long ray of light as it were, in order to pervade and take on the form of each object so that the ignorance enveloping it may be destroyed. Since the generation, going forth and pervasion of the psychosis is spatially and temporarily determined, there may be *pratikarma-vyavasthā*. But the position is not free from difficulties. The relation between knowledge and the known is said to be one of super-imposition; but the object is not super-imposed on the psychosis-defined intelligence; and in any case if this destroys ignorance, why postulate an object-defined intelligence? And is the ignorance destroyed one or many? If the former, why does not every one see the pot, when Caitra sees it? If the latter, how can even Caitra see the pot at any time since the other ignorances will always obscure? In the statement and refutation of these objections, there is great similarity between the *Siddhi*¹ and the *Mukura*. The treatment in the former is a trifle more elaborate, discussing in some detail the nature of the psychosis, the analogies to the removal of ignorance etc. The *Mukura* undertakes a justification in some detail of the position that darkness is positive and not the mere absence of light. The discussion comes in appropriately since the advaitin has to use the analogies of physical light dispelling darkness by reaching up to the object, and of physical darkness re-obscuring when a lamp etc. is withdrawn. The argument proceeds on the possession of colour by darkness; it is not even that it does not possess touch, since as in the case of smoke, touch may exist without being perceptible (the eye alone can sense the touch in smoke). The reasoning is reminiscent of the *Tattvapradipikā*; for a fuller discussion the author refers us to his *Vivarayaprabhā*.

XI

The pluralist too has recourse to tarka to disprove non-dualism. What he considers to be *reductio ad absurdum* is not really so. The consideration of these *pratikūla-tarkas*² constitutes the next section. The objections mainly relate to (1) the non-existence of similarity between Brahman and the world, while similarity is a cause of super-imposition, (2) the partlessness of Brahman, making it impossible for it to function as a substrate, which has to be partially manifest, (3) the non-existence of memory impressions as a cause of the super-imposition, there

1. *AS*, pp. 86-94.2. Cp. *AS*, pp. 94-102.

being no other real world to produce such impressions, (4) the negation of the world relating to an absolutely real world, on the analogy of the *Vivaraya* statement that the negation of silver relates to the absolutely real silver, (5) the need for the reality of cogniser, body, organs, defecis, etc., (6) the reality of the sublating cognition, as otherwise there would be infinite regress, (7) the absolute non-existence of bondage calling for no effort for its removal, (8) the impossibility of what is removed by Brahman-intuition being super-imposed thereon, on the analogy of sin removable by *Setudarśana* not being super-imposed on the *Setu*, and so on. The reply consists in showing that all that the objector requires as real may be assumptive and yet discharge the functions required. Brahman has no parts; but nescience presents it as having parts. Nescience is itself a super-imposition; the how of it is unintelligible and the unintelligibility is constitutive of its very nature; self-dependence etc., are not defects in the case of what is illusory. Nor is it that when Brahman is manifest ignorance is impossible; there may be presentation of illusory ignorance just as for owl etc., there is presentation of intense darkness even in the mid-day sun. It is not possible to argue that on the analogy of the unreality of causes like memory-impression, the substrate too may be unreal; for Brahman's reality (to repeat) is established by scripture, not by inference or presumption. The rest of the discussion is identical with that in the *Siddhi*.¹ The reply of the *Mukura* to the analogy of sin and *Setudarśana* is interesting. It is apparently conceded that the world is removable by Brahman-knowledge, obtained through contemplation. But this removability by knowledge itself constitutes illusoriness. How then can there be established reality which is its opposite? And if the *probaṇi* itself be not conceded, the *probandum* would still be non-established.

The pūrvapakṣin also mentions conflict with scriptural texts about creation of the world etc., by Iśvara. This is met, in the same way as in the *Siddhi*, by the analogy of the juggler, who resolves on and creates his magic world in a certain order and so on. The author of the *Mukura* brings in here a discussion of the relation of Iśvara and Jīva, adopting the view of the first section of the *Pāñcasāra*, which treats both as reflections. This is consistent with the possibility of Raṅga Rāja and the Advaita-

1. AS, pp. 94-102.

vidyācārya being identical; for we are told in the *Siddhāntaleśa* that the Advaitavidyācārya set forth the view of reflection consistent with the position of Vidyāranya.¹

XII

The final section of the first pariccheda is concerned with the refutation of the validity of perception etc., in regard to absolute reality. Where there is perception of finites as real, it is the reality of Brahman that is manifest therein. Unsublatability in all three times cannot be known by perception which can tell us at best that sublation has not arisen so far, not that it does not exist. Practical efficiency, as has been often said, is no warrant for absolute reality, as even the rope-snake causes fear and trembling. The difference between the empirically real and the merely apparent consists in sublatability by Brahman-knowledge alone or anything short of that. It cannot be made out that perception as a class is a superior pramāṇa; for if perception alone is effective in certain ways as in removing confusion of directions (*dīnāmoha*), inference alone can apprehend primal atoms. Nor can perception claim superiority on the ground of being first in the field; for the upakramanyāya would apply only where there is conflict; but since perception and scripture have different contents, the former relating to empirical and the latter to absolute reality there is no conflict at all. For the same reason there is no upajivya-virodha either. Even if conflict be admitted, it is the earlier that should be sublated on the apacheda-nyāya.² We do not subscribe to the view that all scripture is superior to perception, but only that purposeful scripture is so

1. advaitavidyā-kṛtas tu pratibimbasya mithyātvam abhyupagacchatām trividha-jīva-vidinām vidyāranya-guru-prabhṛtinām abhiprāyam evam ābhū (Siddhāntaleśasāṅgraha, pp. 272-273).

2. In this connection both the *Siddhi* and the *Mukura* cite Ānandabodha's verse

"tatparatvāt paratvāc ca nirdoṣatvāc ca vaidikam |
pūrvasya bādhakam nā'yam sarpa ityādīvākyavat ||"

and the Nyāyāmyta criticism thereof:

"tatparatvām asiddhatvāt paratvām vyabhicārataḥ |
nirdoṣatā' nyathā-siddheḥ pribalyam nai'va sādbayet ||"

But while the *Siddhi* gives them in this, the chronological order, the *Mukura* cites them in what is for the advaitin the logical order, the latter appearing first as the pūrvapakṣa.

superior; purposiveness is determined by non-subsidiarity to any other purpose.¹ The realist cannot but admit that certain perceptions are delusive. This he sets down not to their sublatability, but to the ascertainment of defect. But the presence of defect is by no means patent; its existence has to be ascertained from the fact of sublation. Ether is really colourless, though perceived as blue; the perception is not to be set aside on the ground that the defect of distance accounts for it; for it may well be that proximity too is a defect and that this accounts for the non-perception of blueness near by.² The invalidity of the perception has therefore to be ascertained through its sublation by revelation which teaches that ether is colourless. It is on the ground of this sublation that the perception is understood to be tainted by the defect of distance. Further his argument is not really helpful to the realist; "in your unholy anxiety to see that its sublatability by verbal testimony is remedied, you fall into the jaws of the sublatability of perception by inference; this conforms to the maxim of fearing the scorpion and falling into the mouth of the snake."³

XIII

Though the manuscript is fragmentary and the present account is but a meagre outline, enough has been said, it is hoped, to show the great interest of the work both from the

1. The treatment of the injunction to cook the golden grains (*krṣṇalam śrapayet*) is interesting. It is usual to say that the primary sense of cooking is abandoned here, because of the impossibility of performance (See *Siddhāntaleśa*, pp. 246). But according to our author, there is no such abandonment since the word "cook" has different senses in different contexts; if it means mere heating in the case of golden grains, that is no other than its legitimate sense; see p. 161 of the ms: na khalu vikṛttih śrapaya-śabdā-ṛthah, aikarūpya-bhāvāt. na hi syāniākataṇḍulādau tīvat-kāla-śrapyamāne 'pi tathā vikṛttih tīvatā kālena yathā vribhi-tanḍulānaśrapitān śrapayati. krṣṇale tu tīvatā api yadi vikṛttir na syād auṣṇyam eva tu param tīvatā śrapaya-śabdā-ṛtho 'nuṣṭhita evo 'ti na tātparyavād-veda-bodhīa-svārtha-tyāga-śāṅkā."

2. Cp. *AS*, p. 43.

3. On the whole topic of this section, cp. *AS*, pp. 27-36, and 39-43.

historical and the doctrinal sides. It is not improbable that other fragments at least exist elsewhere. Though much of the dialectic survives in the monumental work of Madhusūdana, Rāṅga Rāja's treatment has a directness and charm which make it worthy of being resuscitated and made better known. On the assumption that both derived from a common source of inspiration,¹ the *Mukura* is likely to throw light on points that are obscure in the *Siddhi* despite Brahmananda's voluminous comment. For this and other reasons, it is hoped that experts in the collection of manuscripts will bestir themselves to find a complete version of the *Advaitavidyāmukura*.

1. Tradition and the *Catalogus Catalogorum* assign to Madhusūdana a commentary on Appayya's *Siddhāntaleśa*. This would make him a junior contemporary of Appayya's in which case he probably was familiar with and drew on the *Advaitavidyāmukura*. For this view of Madhusūdana's date, see *JORM*, II, pp. 97-104. The learned editor of the *Siddhāntabindu* in Gaekwad's Oriental Series holds Madhusūdana's date to have been roughly 1540-1633 A.D.; he arrives at this conclusion by a review of the evidence so far adduced, confirmed by Mr. Chintabarun Chakravarti, a lineal descendant of an elder brother of Madhusūdana. The period of Appayya is variously fixed at 72 years from 1522 or 1552 or 1558 (see P. P. S. Sastri's Introduction to the Vani Vilas edition of the *Siddhāntaleśa*). None of these data is inconsistent with Madhusūdana having been indebted to Rāṅga Rāja's work. Mr. Divanji's opinion, that the *Siddhāntaleśa* probably mentions some of Madhusūdana's views, though not by name, is not very convincing; for there is no clear evidence of Appayya having been so much Madhusūdana's junior, if he was the latter's junior at all; and the *Siddhāntaleśa* must be taken to have been a very early work of Appayya's.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SĀMAVEDA¹

W. Caland,

TRANSLATED BY

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

*Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.*

It is a fact that the Vedas in the main have come down to us in the condition of redactions wherein they were arranged by generation after generation from the earliest times of which we know. We know the Rg Veda (the Rk sāhhitā) only as divided into ten books, as *dāśtiyaya sah*. The description, 'of ten existing', clearly referring to the above-mentioned division, occurs not only in the brāhmaṇas and sūtras belonging to the Rg Veda (Kauś. br., Sāṅkh. Srs.), but also in the sūtras of the Sāma Veda (Lāty., Nidānasūtra) and of the Yajur Veda (Baudh., Āpast.). Again the division of the Sāma Veda and the Yajur Veda known to us is also known to the brāhmaṇas and the oldest sūtrakāras. Lātyāyana-Drāhyāyana, e.g., cite a sāman from the 'dvandvas', and it is known how one of the divisions (parvans) of the āranyagāna bore the name dvandvaparvan, because the sāmans were here given in pairs. From the Sāma-vidhānabrahmaṇa (II. 6. 2.) it even appears that not only was the division in three parvans known at the time of the redaction of this text, but also that the sāmans therein were arranged in the manner that obtains in the gāna known to us. In the sūtras belonging to the Yajur Veda, we find quite a number of references to chapters (anuvākas); so the prescription often occurs that in this or that operation this or that mantra must be spoken beginning with such and such words from the sāhhitā and going 'to the end of the anuvāka.' Yes, from Baudhāyana (Srs. X. 48) it is clear that even the numbering of the anuvākas was precisely the same as is known to us. Yet another proof

1. Verslagen en Mededeelingen Der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling Letter Kunde, Vierde Reeks, Negende Deel. Amsterdam. Johannes Muller, (1909) pp. 1-15.

that the Vedas have in course of time remained remarkably the same. In the tradition in which they have come down to us, the Vedas are properly speaking *disjecta membra* of one great whole. A Vedic sacrifice cannot be performed singlehanded by a follower of the R̄g Veda or of the Yajur Veda or of the Sāma Veda. For that all the three Vedas are indispensable. Though each of the Vedas, spread over the whole extent of Hindustan, has had a more or less independent existence, it is yet the most remarkable thing to perceive how, if we join together the *disjecta membra*, a completely rounded off whole is obtained. This is clear from the reconstruction of the soma sacrifice in its simplest form, the *jyotiṣṭoma*. The texts of the R̄g, Yajur and Sāma Veda related to this fit into each other like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. We are only very rarely in uncertainty as to where this or that operation must be inserted in the whole.

As now the Veda forms, from the time that it is known to us, a fairly closed and rounded whole, it is difficult to follow its earlier history and development. My studies of the texts belonging to the Sāma Veda will, I flatter myself, throw some light on the development of this Veda and clear up some points in its history that have so far remained obscure or unintelligible not only to me but to all students of this Veda. A summary of these researches, which will appear in another form elsewhere,

P. 3. may now follow.

The texts of the Sāma Veda, taken in the narrower sense, are:

1. The Saṁhitā, which contains a collection of verses mostly from the present R̄g Veda, though at many points it presents variant readings. This Saṁhitā falls into three parts:

- (a) α the pūrvārcika
- β the āranyakasamhitā.
- (b) the uttarārcika.

2. The gānas or song-books, of which four have come down to us:

- (a) the grāmägeyagāna
- (b) the āranyagāna
- (c) the ūhagāna
- (d) the ūhyagāna.

To the songs preserved in the gānas, the verses collected in the Saṁhitā serve as the foundation. Thus from a rk

(strophe) a sāman (song) is made by the introduction of the musical notation, by certain alterations (drawing out, repetition) of the words and finally by all sorts of insertions, sometimes of more or less meaningless sounds and syllables, sometimes of entire sentences or lays (*stobhas*). If a Vedic student destined for a Sāma-singer wants to master his material, then he must, in addition to the songs set to music, naturally also memorise the strophes, which are as it were the 'mother's lap' (*yoni*) of the Sāmans.

Now the drift of the pūrvārcika (with āranyakasamhitā) and the uttarārcika and of the first two song-books has so far been understood, though not on some points (cf. Winternitz, Gesch. der Ind. Liter. p. 143 ff.). Next to each strophe of the pūrvārcika (and the āranyakasamhitā) stands a song consisting of one part; each Sāman carries a particular name, mostly derived from the name of the rsi who had 'seen' it; the Sāmans are preserved for us in the first two gānas. The arrangement of the yonis in the pūrvārcika is systematic; first come those dedicated to Agni, then to Indra and thirdly to Soma pavamāna; all are again grouped according to metre. The division and purport of the uttarārcika is on the other hand quite otherwise. In this part of the Samhitā we come across a great many stanzas of three verses (*trcas*), a fairly large number of stanzas of two verses (*pragāthas*), though also of more (four, six, seven, nine, ten and also of one). The purport of this collection of verses is purely practical: it is employed for singing in the many soma-sacrifices and in the melodies taught in the first two song-books. It has been observed that of most stanzas from the uttarārcika the first verse is also found in the pūrvārcika, and it is thence directly concluded that thereby it refers not only to the verse from this ārcika but also to the melody belonging to it as given in the first two song-books. To give one example: the first verse of the pragātha sv. II. 1.1.13 reads: *tajñ vo dasmāñ pṛṣṭhakom̄*; with this agrees a strophe (I.3.1.5.4) from the pūrvārcika; on this strophe are given in the grāmägeyagāna five Sāmans, of which the last is called the Naudhasa Sāma (grāmägeya VI. 1. 37). Now, on the melody of this *Naudhasa* Sāma must the three¹ verses, indicated in the uttarārcika as third pṛṣṭhastotra, be sung² in the jyotiṣṭoma.

1. By partial repetition two verses have been made three.

2. Cf. Caland-Henry, *l'agnistoma* sec. 207, and cf. the Sāmans in the Calcutta edition, pt. I, p. 487 with pt. III, p. 93.

If it is thus meant that the pūrvārcika contains some verses after whose sāmans (in grāmägeyagāna and āranyagāna) some verse stanzas (contained in the uttarārcika) must be sung in the holy service, then we must expect: (i) that of all the stanzas (pragāthas, tṛcas, sūktas, etc.) set forth in the uttarārcika, the first verse must also occur in the pūrvārcika (or āranyakasamhitā), so that by this indication will be decided by what melody that verse in question should be sung in the holy service, and (ii) that all song-modes, mentioned in the pūrvārcika grāmägeya and āranyakasamhitā-āranyagāna shall also find application in the great soma-sacrifices. This, however, is decidedly not the case. Winternitz expresses himself about this as follows: "We usually assume that the uttarārcika is of later origin than the Ārcika. In favour of this supposition is the circumstance that the Ārcika knows of many 'yonis' as well as many song-modes, which do not occur in the songs of the uttarārcika, and that the uttarārcika contains many a song for which the Ārcika does not teach any song-mode. On the other hand the uttarārcika is yet a necessary complement of Ārcika; this is as it were the first, that the second course in the education of the Udgātar." The facts as stated by Winternitz being correct, the conclusion which we should draw therefrom according to him and others, viz., that for the reasons stated the uttarārcika is later than the pūrvārcika, is altogether wrong as will appear presently. When I worked on the agnistoma along with Victor Henry, now alas! no more, and came across the songs of the Sāma-Veda, I saw that the sāmans of the morning service (the prātahśavana) were found only in very late texts, the so-called prayōgas, while all the songs of the midday and afternoon service (*mādhyamidinasavana*, *tṛtyāśavana*), except one, were found in the third song-book, the ūhagāna, and that one in the fourth song-book, the ūhyagāna. What may be the reason for this? Why was it unnecessary to gather up the sāmans of the morning service in the ūhagāna, which yet seems to contain the songs as they were applied in practice? Simply because, as it seems to me after prolonged research, all the sāmans of the morning service were to be sung in the gāyatra-melody, and this melody might be supposed to be well-known. The Vedic student begins with this melody, composed in the sāvitri metre (*sat svitv vareṇyam* etc.), and it is imparted in the Devatādhyāyabrahmaṇa, while it is found as appendix to the edition of the grāmägeyagāna (among the Jaiminiyas after the āranyagāna).

Everywhere then where in the uttarārcika stanzas or groups of strophes occur, of which the first is not mentioned in the pūrvārcika, the stanzas belong to the morning service, and no further indication of melody was necessary. Consequently, that 'the uttarārcika contains many songs (surely yonis is meant), for which the Ārcika (*viz.* the pūrvārcika) teaches no song-mode' is no ground for presuming a discord between the two texts.¹ That on the other side in the pūrvārcika-grāmāgṛtā (and āranyakasārhitā-āranyagāna) many yonis and melodies occur which have no connection with any in the uttarārcika is entirely correct. This is how matters stand. Besides the songs which are sung on the yonis of the uttarārcika, there were sung on numerous occasions,—*viz.*, in the placing of the sacred fire (the agnyādheya), in the pravargya ceremonial, in the mahāvrata and on other occasions—by the udgātar alone or by some of his acolytes some śāmans, and these (*i.e.* the yonis thereof) need not naturally be included in the uttarārcika, because they were all cut and dried and ready for the musical recitation. So also the mahānāmnis which often as sung do service in the pr̄ṣṭhastotras. The evidence is thus lacking for our supposing that the uttarārcika is later than the pūrvārcika. And *a priori* we must expect that the uttarārcika is older than the pūrvārcika. Certainly the collected stanzas, which contain the yonis of the songs which are employed as a matter of fact in the rite, must be older than the collection which only serves to register the melodies, according to which the abovementioned songs were sung.

In the considerations urged so far, the last two song-books, the ūha and ūhyagāna, were only mentioned incidentally. Whoever desires to know something more of these turns in vain to the histories of literature. Weber alone states that they are connected with the second part of the Samhitā, but says: 'their reciprocal connection needs a still closer study' (Vorles. Zur. Ind. Litt. gesch.,² p. 70). Winternitz does not even mention the

P. 6.

P. 7.

1. If Winternitz himself might have expressed himself inaccurately and meant that ūhagāna and ūhyagāna contain different songs which, according to their denomination, do not occur in the first two gānas, even then he is wrong. Superficially judged he seems to be right, yet the denomination of the Śāmans of the ūha—and ūhyagāna, as given in the Calcutta edition, is sometimes wrong, sometimes jumbled.

names in his abovementioned work. Weber's remark that they are connected with the *uttarārcika* is partly correct. Before however proceeding to consider the nature of these *gānas* and their relation to the other Sāma Veda texts, I must say something on the sūtras of this Veda.

The Śrautasūtra of Lātyāyana is known and published, and now also a part of the Drāhyāyana¹ which almost agrees with the first. The Sāma-Vedins possess yet a number of sūtras; for us only the Maśakakalpasūtra, the Kṣudrasūtra and the Puśpasūtra are important. The Maśaka-kalpasūtra or Arṣeya-kalpa has not been so far studied: we are indebted to Weber for a detailed summary of its contents (Verz. der Berl. Hss. deel 1 under No. 297). A thorough study has taught me that this text deals with the Soma-sacrifices which are partly described in the Pañcavithśabrahmāṇa and the Ṣadvīrīśabrahmāṇa, partly only mentioned, dealing in succession with the gavāmayana, the ekāhas, the ahīnas and the satras. Now it is known that the different parts (parvans) into which the ūha as

P. 8. well as ūhyagāna are divided bear in succession, according to its contents, the names: daśarātra, samivatsara, ekāha, ahīna, sattra, prāyaścitta and kṣudra. Now the Maśakakalpasūtra is the driest sort of reading imaginable: it gives nearly exclusively, almost without any digression, the initial words of the couplets, on which this or that sāman is to be sung. All the sāmans mentioned in this sūtra occur precisely in the same order in the ūha- and ūhyagāna, now some from the first, and here and there some from the second gāna. As the sāmans mentioned in the Maśakakalpasūtra do not seem to contain each of the parvans of the two last gānas (but only reaching up to the Sattra), and thus do not comprise the so-called prāyaścitta and kṣudraparvans, I began to suspect whether the so-called Kṣudrasūtra of which Weber in his Vorlesungen zur indischen Literaturgeschichte (2nd ed. p. 92) only mentions the name and which he considers one of the latest offshoots of the Sāma-Veda, cannot perhaps be a text of the same kind as the Maśakakalpasūtra, and whether thus in this text should not be expected the practice of the Sāmans contained in the prāyaścitta and kṣudra books of the two last gānas. From the ms. of Colebrooke preserved in the India

1. This refers to Paṭalas 1-10 and 4 sūtras of 11 published by Dr. J. N. Reuter of Helsingfors in 1904. Paṭalas 11-15 have since been edited by Raghuvira in the Journal of Vedic Studies, Vol. I, i. Jan. 1934, pp. 13-80.—Tr.

office it appeared that my surmise was correct, though I found at the same time that the style of this text differed in a remarkable manner from that of the Maśakakalpasūtra. Yet this text the old Hindu commentators held, as the citations show, to be an Ārṣeyakalpa.

As now the Maśakakalpasūtra and the Kṣudrasūtra, mutually connected, teach the application of the sāmans of the ūha- and ūhyagāna, pretty nearly in the order in which they are given in the two gānas, the conclusion is easily reached that these two song-books must have been known to the authors of these old sūtras, and that these gānas, wherein the sāmans were preserved which of old were applied in the rite, must be held to be the oldest, at least as older than the first two, which may be considered as a sort of index of melodies. In this opinion I am strengthened by the observation that in two places in the Maśakakalpasūtra the citations were of a peculiar style; thus all the sāmans mentioned were not indicated by their names, but by 'the sarūpa-song and the three following', 'the āśubhārgava-song and the five following.' This manner of indication was possible only when the author had this song-book before him. Yet now there arises another question: when the grāmägeya- and āranyagāna aim at being a register of melodies arranged with the object that the sāmans therefrom were to be so sung in the holy service that the first verse of a stanza in the uttarārcika agreed with a verse of the pūrvārcika and a corresponding melody in the grāmägeya or āranyagāna, where was the necessity for the ūha- and the ūhyagāna being put together? And on the other side: If of old the ūha- and the ūhyagāna had existed, preserving the songs for the holy service in a cut and dried manner, why then this fuss of the pūrvārcika-āranyakasanthī with grāmägeya- and āranyagāna? These last named texts were then to some extent superfluous. A solution of this difficulty, satisfactory in every way, has been found by a detailed study of the manner in which the sāmans are indicated in the Ārṣeyakalpa. In most cases the initial words of one or other stanza or of a verse from the uttarārcika are given, after which the name of the melody follows; without fail one finds the sāman on all verses of the stanza in question in the ūha- or the ūhyagāna. On some occasions a detailed specification is given, as e.g. Maś. K. S. IX, 9: *aśanasyarkṣu raiśvajyoliśam yat pra gṛyateti*. The Sāman here mentioned is naturally found in our ūhgāna (XIX, 1.7, see

Sāma Veda Cal., Edn. Part III. p. 82). The words of the sūtra mean clearly: " (he sings) on the verses of the auśana sāman the melody Vaiśvajyotiṣa, indicated by the initial words *pra gāyata*." The verse indicated by these initial words is found only in the pūrvārcika (I. 6. 1. 5. 3), and the melody belonging to it is really the vaiśvajyotiṣa, to be found in grāmägeyagāna XV, 2. 20 (B. I. part II, p. 132). The addition 'indicated by the first words: *pra gāyata*' was here necessary, because there are two other Sāmans called vaiśvajyotiṣa, belonging to other yonis. If one compares the Sāman from the ūhagāna with that from the grāmägeyagāna, one finds that, excepting for some trifles, there is complete agreement between the two.

And Kṣudrasūtra I. 6 supplies a still clearer indication: 'whoever wishes to find abundant means of subsistence, must sing the Kālēya Sāman on the middle verse of the three existing verses, the stanza beginning with *īndrā yāhi dhiyeśitah* being taken as first.' The prescription leaves nothing to be desired by way of clarity, and one finds the song also with the prescribed

P. 10. order of verses in the ūhagāna: XXI. 2. 4. But, if this song-book had been known to the authors of the Arṣeyakalpa, they would surely have given the prescriptions whereby they indicate the Sāmans in another and shorter manner, and particularly would they have omitted from the last prescription the definition of the transposition of the verses. These are only two indications out of many on the basis of which we should conclude that the last two gānas are of a later time than the sūtras considered here. Also the names (*prāyaścitta* and *kṣudra*) of the last two parvaris in the ūha- and ūhyagāna can be only explained on the supposition that the Kṣudrasūtra is older; the Kṣudrasūtra may have received its name in contrast with the more extensive Maśakalpasūtra, and in the Kṣudrasūtra are also considered the *prāyaścittas*.

Decidedly the last two gānas are also later than the Śrautasūtras. That is self-evident. First these names do not occur in them even once. This nevertheless is no proof. Let us proceed. In the Pañcavishabrahmāya (V. 4. 5. 6) it is prescribed that the singer in the Mahāvrata must sing the Sāman called Vasiṣṭhasya nihava on the Cātavāla, and that he must sing this on a verse directed to the Viśve devāḥ. Which verse is meant here does not appear from the words of the brāhmaṇa. The sūtra of Lātyāyana-Drāhyāyana therefore fills this gap (Lāty, III. 9. 12 =

Dṛḍhy. X, 1.11) by the provision: *vīśva devā iti vasiṣṭhasya nihavam ūhet*, i.e., "he must change the vasiṣṭhasya nihava to (make ready to fit in, ūhet) the verse that begins with *vīśva devāḥ*". The melody Vasiṣṭhasya nihava is composed on the verse *asvā devāṇi gor ṛṣikam* (Sv. I, 4.1.3.1) and is found in P. 11, grāmägeyagāna VIII, 1.36 (Sv. Bibl. Ind. Part I, p. 629); the melody fitted on the verse *vīśva devāḥ* etc. (ār. Sam. III, 9) is given in ūthagāna IX, 3.12. (Part V p. 602). Between the two sāmans there is full agreement except in the words. This passage alone is enough—one can mention still clearer proofs—to prove that the author of the Śrautasūtra did not know of the ūthagāna. The commentary at this point reads: "the words 'he must adapt (ūhet)' is aimless, because the reading (of this sāman, is known (Dhanvin naturally knew the ūthagāna !). That is indeed true, they say, but the ūha (gāna) is of a later age than this prescription." The text of the commentary, which surely has not been handed down quite correctly, must have had something like this sentence.

Over the question whether the ūha (by which term apparently was meant the song book known as ūh(arahas)yagāna as well as the ūthagāna known to us) was made by men or 'seen' by R̄sis, the old Hindus were already divided. The first chapter of the second prapāthaka in the Niḍānasūtra, a text which from its style must be counted among the older works, is devoted to a discussion of this question. After the introductory words: *ṛṣikyāḥ svāt ūkā 3 anyṣikyta iti vōi khalu ūkuk*, reasons are first set forth for the view that ūha does not have its origin from the seers, and then, apparently, all the grounds are refuted. From a metrical discourse on the Sāmaveda the following śloka is cited in the introduction to the Bibliotheca Indica edn. (Part I, p. 18):

ūhagrāntha' pauruṣeyah pauruṣeyo' thavāgrimak |
vedasānasamānatvād vidhisārthatvālā' utimoh ||

If I am not mistaken, the meaning of these words is: 'Is the ūha(gāna) (and the ūhyagāna) not of human origin or is it? It is the first, in so far as it is in a similar case with the Sāma-Veda (the first two gānas, seen by the R̄sis and thus of divine origin); the second, in so far as it is meant for the rite (and the Kalpasūtras are made by men)". P. 12.

With the remark made above, that ūha- and ūhyagāna date from later times, agrees the finding of Konow on the Sāma-

vidhāna-brāhmaṇa. He has pointed out that in this old text no songs from the last two song-books are quoted.

But one may, with propriety ask, how now with this argument (above p. 8) which just now seemed to have such conclusive force exactly for the greater antiquity of the ūha? This ground need not be abandoned as against the conclusive evidence that the last two gānas as such were unknown to the older authors, because there may be found an explanation by which the contradiction may be cleared away. Thus it is probable that originally the text of the Maśakakalpasūtra enumerated successively all the Sāmans (which should be sung on one melody), but that later authors, who knew the ūhagāna have curtailed these passages.

Yet another question awaits an answer. Why (have) two song-books, ūha and ūhya, with precisely the same divisions next to each other? Their songs were in practice employed next to and by each other. Careful reflection has furnished the solution of this problem also. All the melodies which occur in the

- P. 18. ūhyagāna as also their names one finds in the ārāpyagāna, while the melodies and names of the ūhagāna correspond with those of the grāmägeyagāna. Besides ūhyagāna, the last song-book is also called rāhasyagāna. In his day Burnell maintained that the designation ūhya(gāna) was an abridgement of ūharahasya(gāna); Konow, on the other hand (Sānavidhāna Intro. p. 14) thought that the name rāhasya only applied to the ārāpyagāna and not to the ūhya as well. Now it seems that the opinions of Burnell and of Konow are reconcileable; for rāhasya is the same as ārāpya(gāna), and what we understand by ūhyagāna is simply the collection of songs changed and adapted to the melodies of the ārāpyagāna: rāhasyagāna and ūhyagāna are really one and the same: the words differ, not the melodies.

To turn finally to the name: the term ūha is clear; it means 'shifting, adaptation', and postulates a model to which the adaptation takes place. Well then, the prakṛti of ūha and ūh(arahas)ya are, as we saw, the grāmägeya- and the ārāpyagāna. As regards the names of these last books, there is not a single reason to adduce in favour of the modern theory (of v. Schroeder, Winternitz and others), that they are so called because the first named gāna contains songs sung in the sacrifices in the village, the second in sacrifices performed in the forest or the wilderness. That is a mere play of words with no single

reason given. For we have seen that the melodies of both the gānas are used by each other in all soma-sacrifices. Rather may the gānas be so called because one of them was studied in the village by the Sāma Veda student while the other (the āranyakāna) was studied in the wood, outside the parish. The introduction to this study was also a particularly severe observance.¹ The reason why this gāna should be studied outside the parish lies certainly in the greater holiness or danger of its melodies. I recall only the highly sacred Mahānāmnīs and the rudrasūktas employed in imprecations.

For all the reasons stated above one might visualise the origin of the Sāmaveda texts thus:

The holy service, the Soma sacrifice in its many forms, P. 14. existed from of old. Since the beginning of human memory different songs were sung by the singer with his acolytes at particular moments in such sacrifices (in the gāyatra melody in the morning service), mostly based on stanzas of three verses. The words on which the songs used to be sung (then yonis) were collected early and compiled into one whole (*Saṁhitā*): the uttarārcika. In order that the study and memorising of the melodies may be rendered easy, likewise at a very early period, a double register was made up, the first one of the melodies; this was so arranged that one had only to take the first verse of a stanza and this became the carrier of the melody; then they added the Sāmans, which should be recited by some singers in some song-verses (stotriyas) in other ceremonies. So began the grāmägeyagāna and āranyakāna, which were so divided that the more sacred and dangerous melodies were put together in a separate register (ār. gāna). Also the yonis of the song-books were brought together and so began the pūrvārcika and āranyakasamhitā. Thereupon the traditional rite was fixed in the Ārṣeyakalpa, in connection with the brāhmaṇa, of which it is difficult to indicate the time of origin in this series. The Śrautasūtras began in connection with the extant literature (of the Sāmaveda). If now a chandoga knows his two gānas by heart and also knows which yonis he must use at one or other ceremony, it should be easy for him to make all the changes, to apply the ūha in all the

1. The Mahānāmnikavrata of the Chandogas (cf. Jaim. Gr. Sū. I. 17), that is almost the same as the Sukriyavrata of the other Vedic schools.

cases as prescribed in the sūtras. But perhaps all kinds of *finesse* were quickly resorted to in order to prolong the ritual or make it more complicated, and so the chandoga needed to have in his head a great many rules in order to apply the ūha. All these rules were, if I am not mistaken, collected in one text ascribed to Puṣpa, the socalled Phullasūtra. I say 'perhaps'. For though indeed there is in existence an edition of the text of this sūtra, yet this work is so truly algebraical in arrangement and so full of all sorts of abbreviations and technical terms, that only a thorough study with a commentary at hand could give us the certainty whether my surmise regarding the purport of the Puṣpasūtra is correct.¹ Again, they have later on combined all the rules of the Puṣpasūtra with the prescriptions of the sūtras and applied them, and produced two song-books, which may now be directly consulted by the chandoga in the holy service.

P. 15. The content of the ūha- and ūhyagānas forms thus the oldest part of the Samāvēda, according to their form these two books belong to the youngest.



1. By the researches of Prof. R. Simon at München, who is preparing an edition and elucidation of the Puṣpasūtra, it will become clear later if my hypothesis on the purpose of this text is correct. Questioned about this by me, Prof. R. Simon cannot give me a conclusive answer though he considers 'the basic idea thoroughly sound.' (Simon's edition has appeared in Abhandlungen der K. Bayer Akademie der Wiss. 1. Kl. XXIII Band, III Abt.—Tr.).

ACCENTUAL VARIATION IN RELATION TO
SEMANTIC VARIATION

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, B.A. (HONS.), DIP. IN GERMAN,
Madras.

[In a paper published in Volume VIII Part IV of this Journal, I pointed out how a semantic differentiation is involved in the shift of accent or to put it in other words, the same sound combination referentially differs in accordance with the shift of accent. This is exemplified by Pāṇini's sūtra

तृष्णकर्त्तव्यिकुसितकुसिदानमुदाचिः (P. VI. 1, 37.)

which reminds us that in the stem *Vṛṣṭakapēy* to which is tacked on the feminine suffix -ī, in strict conformity to the importance associated with the semantic content of the suffixal element, there is also an accentual shift to the very last syllable of the whole word.¹ In this paper I propose to examine this principle in greater detail with special reference to a study of Mādhabhaṭṭa's *R̥gvedānukramanī*.²]

Mādhabhaṭṭa opens his first section (*R̥gvedānukramanī* Part I. i. i. 1) with the statement

यावद्य तथास्वरम् ॥

[Cf. वर्धनिष्ठः परिक्लेत्. Nirukta II. 1, cf. also

प्रधानमर्थः शब्दो हि तदगुणायत् इष्यते ।

तस्मानानान्वयोपायैः शब्दानर्थवशं नयेत् ॥

1. However the word *Vṛṣṭakapāty*—(Rv.) 'wife of *Vṛṣṭakapi*' occurring in the vocative only, is unaccented *Vide* A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde 1. Band. 4, Heft. 1910, p. 87.

2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Pt. I.

Bṛhaddevatā II. 99.

See also

वृहत्रीडेः स्वरं पद्यनर्थं तत्पुरुषस्य च ।

वर्णे स्पष्टे स्वरं जागाद्गुणं चो रिशादसम् ॥

Rgvedānukramanī i. v. 7.

वर्णं चो रिशादसम् (Rv. V. 64, 1.)¹

In a volume of the Indo-germanis che jahrbuch (VI. 1918), Karl Buhler brought together several definitions of sentence and subjected them all to a critical examination. One thing that clearly strikes us in these definitions is that language should be looked upon in its setting of real life, for sentences are obviously social facts, being familiar from daily intercourse.

Therefore the right method of approach is not to investigate speech as we find in books or grammars, but as the most vital social phenomena, the indispensable instrument of social existence, since sentences are used at every moment to give or to ask information, to express wishes or give orders, or in some way to exert influence upon the minds of our fellows.²

Doubtless most writers on language, have been more or less alive to this stand point. But Marty seems to be entirely saturated with it. His statement of the purpose of language³ very closely agrees with the definition given by A. H. Gardiner⁴ that runs thus:—

"Language is the name given to any system of articulate symbols having reference to the facts of experience, whereby speakers seek to influence the minds of listeners in question".

The above definition brings a new dimension to language as usually viewed, namely the relation of the speaker to the listener.

1. Sayana's comment on the compound रिशादसम् is as follows; रिशंति हिसनीते रिशाः अत्रवः हेषां प्रेरकम् ।

2. Cf. मन्मन्ते पश्चिमास्त्वन्ते नयाव्याकरणं स्वरम् ।

व्यवस्थितो व्यवस्थार्थं हेतुस्तत्र न विच्छेते ॥

माघवर्त्य त्वयं पक्षः स्वरेणैव व्यवस्थितिः ॥

Rgvedānukramanī i. i. 24 and 25.

3. A. Marty, Untersuchungen Zur Grundlegung der allgemeinen Grammatik und Sprach philosophie 1908. I, 22.

4. The British Journal of Psychology Volume XII, 1921-22, pp. 353-354.

It should not however be understood that nearly three decades ago, the relation of the speaker to the listener (with its converse relation) was entirely ignored by linguists. Undoubtedly it crept up, now and then, in Paul, in von der Gabelentz, in Jespersen and in many other writers. But only it was not brought to the forefront.

In this connection it has to be clearly borne in mind that linguistic development follows not one tendency, but two opposing ones, and they are distinctness and economy. Each one of these poles is alternately preponderant. The fundamental dualism speaker-hearer is at the basis of this polarity, which producing a tension, constitutes the principle of life in language.

Language is looked at from these two poles by formal and functional grammar.¹ This hypothesis provides two bases on which can be safely built a bridge between the violently antagonistic views of Wundt (*Völkerpsychologie*, *Die Sprache*) and Marty.

Marty's teleological explanation of linguistic creation² opens the way for the return of the two tendencies—distinctness and economy in the interpretation of the linguistic development.³

"It is the basic dualism speaker-hearer which causes the existence of a polarity between subjectivity and objectivity. The tendency towards economy is the subjective factor as it serves the inclination of the speaker. Distinctness is usually the objective factor, enforced by the reaction of the hearer."⁴

1. Cf. "I firmly believe that a grammar built on function, its proper realm, with leanings towards meaning rather than towards form, but of course without disregarding the latter, must be more life-like and fascinating than one built on form. The closer we stay to the human mind, the more vital will be our results. Form is remotest from the ever young activity of the mind. It shows its reflections only in dim outlines and is most subject to fossilization. Function is much more stable and reveals much more readily the processes of casting thought and feeling into accepted patterns." W. F. Leopold's article, "Form or Function as the basis of grammar", p. 431. *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. Volume XXXIV. No. 3, July, 1935.

2. Werner Leopold, "Inner form" in *Language*. Volume V 254-60.

3. *Untersuchungen*, pp. 629-30.

4. Cf. "Polarity in Language" by W. Leopold, Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies, pp. 102-103.

The two tendencies are adequately discussed with masterly lucidity by G. V. D. Gabelentz.¹ Wundt however denies their very existence as he mistakes tendency for intention and since in his system² practically no room is given for intention, Marty's unmistakably clear demonstration of Wundt's error carries conviction (622).

Thus it is clear that "two opposed interests wrestle with each other and are both active and effective at the same time and alternate in predominance. A horizontal cut through the structure of language and a vertical one through its development might be imagined to show the form of an ellipse; two foci which can never coincide are both essential to define the course of the circumference."³

The rules pertaining to Sanskrit accent show clear traces of this principle of polarity at work and indicate the two fundamental forces which work in opposite direction and yet collaborate, namely, the manifestations of the tendency towards facility against the conservative principle of intelligibility.

This is not a bit surprising, since the Sanskrit accent, like the accentuation-marks, did not hover over words in a careless apathy, but as a living and life-imparting soul lived in and with the word, exerting an influence on the structure of the whole language, such as we seem to have only had the faintest conception of.⁴

Accent, producing the unity of the word and therefore called the soul of speech being of a more spiritual nature than the sounds, not only from one point of view is the real element which carries intelligibility into speech, but also more than other factors in speech, is the immediate expression of feeling.

1. *Die Sprachwissenschaft*,² 181, 1901.

2. *Die Sprache*,³ 1, 28, 2, 492.

3. W. Leopold, "Polarity in Language", p. 104. Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies, Language Monographs No, 7, 1930.

4. Jespersen, *Linguistica* p. 16. "Rules as to the accent of words, as to the precise intonations of questions or commands, as to forms when shouting to people at a distance could have no sense if applied to a dead language." *Vide* E. Rapson, "In what degree was Sanskrit a spoken language?" *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1904, p. 443.

(*Cf.* W. V. Humboldt's view cited by Gotting, *Accent der griechischen Sprache*, p. 8).¹

The interrelation between accent and the meaning-content has been engaging the attention of scholars almost from the rise of the linguistic science. Benfey (*Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1846, p. 842. Kl. Schr. 2, 69) believed that the accent originally did not rest on the stem syllable but on that element which modified the meaning of the word (*cf.* below. *Rgvedānukramaṇī*, i. i. 21).

Soon after him, L. Benloew subscribed to a similar view in his book (*De l' accentuation dans les langues indo-européennes tant anciennes que modernes*. Paris, 1847). According to this scholar, the summit accent was originally an accent purely of pitch, a musical accent without stress or *ictus*. [The term *ictus* for a metrical stress also seems to be post classical, and in *Quintilian* usually implies the beating of time *pedem et digitorum ictu*". (*The Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, 9, 4, 51. Volume III, P. 534, with an English Translation by H. E. Butler. The Loeb Classical Library.)] Mark H. Liddell believes that the *ictus* as a metrical stress was really as theoretical in classic Latin verse as it is in modern European music, being employed to mark the time when syllable-lengths were no longer *communibus in fixa sensibus* but had to be taught to the young by beating with the hand or foot, just as musical time is now taught to one who is learning to play a musical instrument.² In each word which consisted of more than one syllable, some one syllable was pronounced musically higher than all the others; the syllable which was thus distinguished from others was, according to Benloew, chronologically the last defining element in the word (*le dernier déterminant*).

According to the theory of word-construction which prevailed in his days and which even to-day is accepted to a large extent without much opposition, a word is made up of different constituents, root, suffix, personal inflection, case-ending, augment, reduplication and so forth, and of these

1. *Vide* Maurice Bloomfield, "Historical and critical remarks, introductory to a study of Greek Accent." *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. IV, (1883), p. 21.

2. *Cf.* Mark H. Liddell, "Stress Pronunciation in Latin." *Language* Volume II, 1926, p. 110, f.n.

elements in the word whatever be the last joined to the word, that was entitled to this higher pitch, for example in an augment-tense the augment, in a noun in the genitive, the genitive ending and when a word was compounded with a preposition, the preposition.

Benloew was convinced that the unity of the word in our sense had not as yet developed so long as this principle was still in existence, the marked emphasis of the 'dernier determinant' directed the attention of both the speaker and the hearer so strongly to some part of the whole, to some special element in what afterwards became a unit, that it must be supposed that this accentuation was in force in a period previous to that of word-formation in its strictest sense.

The cementing of the word as we have it now, is produced by an additional force. By the side of the principle of the last determinant there was developed slowly and gradually a logical principle of accentuation whose purpose it was to act without reference and in fact in opposition to the specialising tendency of the 'last determinant.' This logical accent, Benloew assumes, affected the root-syllable, which in the word as a whole, is the ruling syllable. The further history of accentuation in the separate Indo-European languages exhibits, then a gradual process, by which the logical accentuation gains the ascendancy in the word.

Benfey took Benloew's principle of the last determinant as his speciality¹. This theory based upon a large number of correct observations was an important one in linguistics to determine a general principle of accentuation.

In the light of the foregoing remarks, a study of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa's favourite theory will be highly interesting.

The book opens with a discussion about the problem of accent of the finite verb. To him the accentlessness of the finite verb in the principal clause (unless the verb stands at the commencement of the clause or of a pāda) is due to the fact that the meaning-content of the verb is determined by the meaning of the clause taken in entirety.

1. Kl. Schr. I, 112. Cf. also H. Hirt, *Der Akzent. Idg. Gram.* Teil V. Heidelberg. 1929, pp. 21-22. Vide also M. Bloomfield, Am. Jour. Phil. Vol. IV, p. 34.

निधाततिहृपदस्यार्थे वाक्यार्थः पर्यक्ष्यति ।

(Rgvedānukramajī, i. i. 3.)

In other words, here a tendency towards economy is predominant.

This explanation partially agrees with Delbrück's (although the latter does not seem to be as satisfactory as the former). He says—"The accentlessness of the finite verb in the principal clause is merely the external sign of the fact that the verb appears as a relatively dependent member of the sentence attaching itself to a noun, a pronoun, a preposition in such a way as to limit these ideas."¹ I have examined Professor Whitney's criticism of this theory at length in my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds."²

Yet a striking parallel to Delbrück's view that the sentence is naturally a diminuendo, beginning strong, to attract the attention of the listener and then toning gradually down, we find in Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

निधाततिहृपदस्यार्थे वाक्यान्ते दर्शयेऽच्छन्नः ।

उदाचतिहृपदस्यार्थम् उच्चरादौ प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

उदाचकारकपैदस्तत्र पूर्वं समाहते ।

पदं सर्वानुदातं स्यान्मव्येऽन्ते वाय यद्गवेत् ॥

(Rgvedānukramajī, i. i. 4 and 8.)

Even though preceded by a vocative, the finite verb which begins a sentence is accented being necessitated for arresting the attention of the listener, that is, here the tendency towards distinctness takes the upper hand.

Applying the same principle, it is indeed no matter for surprise that a finite verb even at the beginning of a pāda is accented, since it can be assumed that the intention of the vedic bards was to make each pāda a complete unit in itself as would a sentence.

.....श्रीतरमिह॒ तिहृपदम् ।

उदाचवत् समाहन्ति स यथाभिमुखो भवेत् ॥

तत्र संबोधनपैदस्तः संबोधितोऽपि सन् ।

वाक्यार्थोद्घावनं कर्तुं पुनराहन्ते तिङा ॥

1. Delbrück, "Vedic Syntax" 50.

2. To be shortly published in the Madras University Journal.

अनुपादे विरस्यार्थमूल्यः कथयन्त्यतः ।

पुनर्खोद्गोष्मनं कर्तुं पादादौ लिङ्गात्तक्त् ॥¹

(Rgvedānukramanī, i. i. 7, 12 and 9.)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa explicitly adheres to the view that it is the principle of intelligibility which is to be held responsible for making the finite verb accented.

यथदीर्घ्यादिमिर्तुकं तिङते च लुटं कदेत् ।

अबान्तराणां वाक्यानामन्तेऽर्थं ते च दशवित् ॥

(Ibid. i. i. 5.)

Another close parallel too to Delbrück's paradoxical standpoint that the finite verb which is itself a dependent member, when it belongs to a dependent clause attains its independency and gets an accent² is noticeable in Mādhavabhaṭṭa. But Mādhavabhaṭṭa's presentation seems to me more satisfactory.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa pushes also the subjective element to its logical conclusion. Thus if in an apparently single sentence, there are two unaccented finite verbs, then the whole sentence has to be split into two.

अनुदाते पदे यत्र तत्र संस्थापयेत् द्विता ॥

(Rgvedānukramanī, i. i. 10.)

Example:

वापि विन्दैश्च चेतयः सुतानां वाजिनीकस् ।

तावायात्तमुपद्रवत् ॥ (Rv. I, 2, 5.)

As both the finite verbs चेतयः and वाजस् are unaccented in this passage, it has to be assumed that here there are two separate sentences.

Of great interest is the unique explanation of Mādhavabhaṭṭa on the ground of the tendency towards distinctness for accenting the finite verb in a few cases (which does not begin a sentence or a pāda) but which apparently is in a principal sentence. For example.

मा नः शंसो अरुषो धूर्तिः प्रणहूमर्त्यैत्य ।

रक्षी णो त्रष्णणस्यते ॥

(Rv. I, 18, 3.)

1. A Vedic Grammar for students by A. A. Macdonell, page 443, f.n. 2 and page 437.

2. *Vide* my article, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds."

इन्द्रं सोमं पिवे रुद्रुना चो विशान्विन्दवः ॥ (Rv. I. 15. 1.)

The problematic accent of प्रणक् and पिव in the above two passages Mādhavabhaṭṭa seeks to explain.

The meaning of the first passage is, "Protect us, Brahmapaspati, so that no calumnious censure of a malevolent man may reach us." And the meaning of the second passage is, "Indra, drink with Rtu, the Soma juice. Let the drops enter into thee and abide."¹

The first passage is an earnest prayer to Brahmapaspati for protection in such a manner as the calumnious censure of a malevolent person may not reach the suppliant. In a similar way, the main intention of the speaker in the second passage is the entry of the drops of Soma juice into Indra. In such a way the god is requested to drink the juice. Hence it is that both प्रणक् and पिव are accented.

ननूद्रात्चं पदं दृष्टं वाक्यमस्येऽपि तथापा ।
मानःशंसो अरहत् इन्द्रं सोमं पिवेति च ॥
अत्र शूमोऽर्थसंस्त्वानमिह यस्मिन् नवेत्तिभिः ।
ततु सर्वानुदात्चं स्पादसंस्थितउदात्चवद् ॥
मा प्रामोतु कदर्स्य शंसोऽस्मान् नक्षणस्यते ।
रक्षेष्वमिति मन्त्रार्थः पाने चावेशनं फलम् ॥

(Rgvedānukramani, i. i. 13, 14 and 15.)²

Sāyāya's comment on प्रणक् is as follows:—

"पृच्छी संपर्के" लब्धितप् । "इतश्च" इतीकारलोपः । हल्क्यादिलोपः । कुलम् । "रुधादिभ्यः श्वस्" । तस्य "व्याप्तयो बहुलम्" (P. III. 1, 85.) इति वादागमः । वर्णादेशः । अकाररस्यागमानुदात्चत्वं वाचित्वा व्यत्ययेनोदात्चत्वम् । "चादिलोपे विभाषा" (P. VIII. 1, 63.) इति निवाताभावः ॥

Sāyāya's derivation of *prajak* from the root *prc* of the infixing nasal class (seventh or *rudh* class) where the syllable

1. See Wilson's Translation.

2. पाने चावेशनं फलम् may also be taken to mean that the meaning of the finite verb रक्ष comes to be determined by the semantic content of the sentence in its entirety (आवेशनं being used in the sense of अभिनिवेश). I owe this suggestion to my revered

'na' precedes the final consonant of the root in the strong forms and ingeniously arguing that the augment 'a' comes immediately after the syllable *py* of the root is in no way satisfactory.

It is to be remembered that *prañak* is the unaugmented root aorist of *nañ* (to attain) formed with the preposition *pra*.¹

Skandasvāmin very nearly hit at the mark, for he says

प्रपूर्वस्य नशेव्यासिकर्मण् एतद्वप्तम् ।

But unhappily he soon abandons this explanation,

अथवानयप्रहैकपदत्वात् पृच्छः सम्पर्कार्थस्येदं रूपम्, न प्रपूर्वस्य
नशेः ।

[Skandasvāmin's *bhāṣya* on Rv. I, 18, 3. Trivandrum Sanskrit series. Also Madras University Sanskrit series No. 8, p. 48.]

Venkaṭamādīhava's *bhāṣya* on Rv. I, 18, 3 reads thus:—

"मास्माकम् आदातुर्मर्यस्य कर्दर्यत्य शंसो न दातु युभ्यम् इच्छामीति
वादो (?) हिसकः प्राप्तोत् वनाभावात् तथास्मार्यस्य रक्ष ॥²

From this it can be reasonably inferred that he also was of opinion that *प्रञक्* is the aorist form of *नश्* with the preposition *प्र*.

According to Pāṇini's sūtra न छट् (P. 8. 1. 29) the verb in the periphrastic future is not accented.³ Example: *sva kartā* [The *Sāṃśadhbhāṣuka* affixes वा, रै, र्त् are *anudāttā* after the affix वाति by the sūtra तास्यनुदारेन्द्रियतुपदेशालक्षार्वचातुकमनुदात्तमहिन्दोः (P. VI. 1. 186). the whole affix तास् becomes *udāttā* (अनुवाच्च ब्रह्मिते P. III. 1. 3.) and where the दि portion of तास् i.e. the syllable आस्, is elided before the affix वा, there also the वा of वा

Prof. MM. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. The other meaning of the line is apparent, i.e., the drinking leads to the entry which means that the request to drink is subordinated to the wish for the entry of the Soma juice into Indra.

1. See Vedic Grammar A. A. Macdonell, Section 499, p. 366.

2. Venkaṭamādīhava's *Bhāṣya*, Paper manuscript, Aydar Library Volume I, page 12.

3. This formation is common in the later language. But there seems to be only an incipient example in VS. XVIII, 59

becomes *udātta* because the *udātta* has been elided. See P. VI. 1. 161.

(अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः)

Why is the finite verb here accented?¹ As we say 'he will do it' using the periphrastic future in common speech, through intonation it comes to mean some such thing "as, will he do it? . . . , he will do it" when therefore the tendency towards distinctness naturally comes into prominence, laying in its turn special emphasis on the finite verb. This is Mādhabhāṭṭa's explanation.

लुडये ननु वाक्यार्थः स्पष्टं सन्तिष्ठते तत् ।
सत्यमाह भवानेतत् काकुलत्र नु विधते ॥
यथा तिष्ठक्षु हि युकेऽप्य द्वये वाक्यस्य संस्थितिः ।
एवं लुड्यपि संस्थानं तस्मिन् काकाविति त्वितिः ॥

(Rgvedānukramanī, i. i. 16 and 17.)

Mādhabhāṭṭa then proceeds to illustrate his analogy.

परा हि मे विगच्यतः पर्तन्ति वस्य इष्टये ।
बयो न वैसतीर्णपि ॥ (Rv. I, 25, 4.)
आ हि ष्मा सूनवे पितापिर्यजत्यापये ।
सखा सहये वरेण्यः ॥ (Rv. I, 26, 3.)
न हि वामस्ति दूरके यत्रा रथेन गच्छयः ।
अविना सोमिनो गृहम् ॥ (Rv. I, 22, 4.)

—TS. 5.7.7.1 *anvāgantā yajñāpatir vo* ¹*atra* which Macdonell (See Vedic Grammar, section 540, p. 387) translates, "the sacrificer is following after you here." This passage is obviously a modification of Av. 6, 123, 1; 2. *anvāgantā yajamānah svasti* which according to Whitney means, "the sacrificer follows after well-being" (Cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Section 946).

1. This question is pertinent for according to Pāṇini's sūtra 3, 3, 15 (अनयतने लुट्) लुट् or the periphrastic future denotes an act that is yet to come (मविष्वत्यनश्वतनेऽये शातोङ्गुट् स्वात् is the comment of Bhaṭṭoḍī Dikṣita in his Siddhānta Kaumudi.). Hence logically it can never occur in a subordinate clause. Therefore strictly speaking it should be accentless.

आयनी वौजसातेमा ताद्यु इच्चाविनर्जतः ।
 हरी इवान्धोसि वस्तेता ॥ (Rv. I. 28, 7.)
 सं यमदाय कुमिणं एनाहस्योदरै ।
 समुद्रो न व्यक्तो दधे ॥ (Rv. I. 30, 3.)

Pāṇini brings these instances under the sūtra इ च (P. VIII. 1. 34). The accenting of the finite verb, according to Mādhabhaṭṭa, in the above passages is due to a distinct tendency towards intelligibility whose operation is necessary to bring the element of marvel that looms large in them.

आश्चर्यं एत् मन्त्रेषु तिङ्गथं पर्यवस्थति ।
 हेतौ संयन्मादयेति तेष्वतस्तिकुदाचवत् ॥

(Rgvedānukramanī, i. 1. 19)

Mādhabhaṭṭa lays special emphasis on the standpoint he adopts that whatever be the place where an accent is found, it is certain that there a characteristic intonation is indicated, being necessitated through the preponderance of the tendency towards distinctness. Those gifted with keen powers of observation alone can perceive this. The great grammarian Pāṇini was one such gifted seer.

परं येनेह युक्तं यत् तिङ्गन्तं न निहन्यते ।
 तदर्थे तत्र संस्थानं न तिङ्गथं इति स्थितिः ॥
 एवं पदे समासे च यत्रोदात्तो व्यवस्थितः ।
 वर्णे पदे वा तत्रापि काकुरत्तीति निश्चयः ॥
 तत्रैतस्मिन् पदे काकुर्दैरेवावगम्यते ।
 सूहमविद्धिः समासस्थः प्राकृतैरपि तिङ्गस्वरः ॥
 भगवान् पाणिनिर्वेति वाक्यहर्तीः समझसन् ।
 प्रतिवेधो निवातस्य बोद्धन्यो विहितैरतः ॥

(Rgvedānukramanī, i. i. 20, 21, 22 and 11.)

(To be continued.)

1. See also Nirukta, IX, 36.

PŪRVAMIMĀMSĀVIṢAYASAṄGRAHADIPIKĀ

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH. D.,
University of Madras.

AND

T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR,
Sanskrit College, Madras.

In some of the former issues of this Journal one of us edited the Citrapaṭa of Śrimad Appayya Dikṣita. Reference was made in the introduction to that work to the Pūrvamimāṃsāviṣayasāṅgrahadipikā of Appayya Dikṣita. The latter is a short work, summarising in a brief and terse manner the contents of the twelve adhyāyas of Jaimini's Pūrvamimāṃsāśūtras, drawing particular attention to some of the fundamental doctrines of the system.

One may very well doubt the ascription of such a short work as this to the famous Dikṣita, especially after seeing the Citrapaṭa, which itself is a short summary of the contents of the system. But the authenticity of this ascription cannot be doubted, for, in the body of the work itself we find the following statement:—

तथा प्रपञ्चेन प्रसाधितमस्मामि: विधिरसायने (p. 331.)

and most of us are familiar with his *Vidhīrasāyana*. There is, therefore, no doubt as to the genuineness of Appayya Dikṣita's authorship of the work.

The edition of this short work is based on two mss. of the work, one deposited in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras (R. 1321), and the other in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library. In the colophon of the copy of this work found in the G. O. MSS. Library we find the following:—

इति वर्षमीमांसासारसङ्कल्पाल्पा परिमाणा पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसंप्रहर्दीपिका अप्यव्यदीक्षितकृता.

Obviously there is some confusion regarding the name of this work. On the other hand the copy in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore is styled श्रीदेवशक्तिपाद अप्सरस्त्रीयः both in the colophon of the work and on the fly leaf of the Ms.; and the work has been so described in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Sarasvati Mahal. In addition this copy does not give the name of the author. Since the work is generally included in the list of works of Appayya Dikṣita under the name of Pūrvamīmāṃsāviśayaśāṅgrahadipikā, we thought it proper to designate it so. What ever be the name of the work, nobody can doubt that it is by Śrimad Appayya Dikṣita.

N. B.:—

The ms. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras is designated G.

The ms. in the Sarasvati Mahal Palace Library, Tanjore is designated T.

श्रीः

॥ पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसङ्ग्रहदीपिका ॥

॥ श्रीमदपव्यदीक्षितकृता ॥

“अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा” हति सूत्रेण प्रमाणस्तत्प्रसादनकैः धर्मस्य विचारं प्रतिज्ञाय प्रथेनऽध्याये तस्मिन् प्रमाणं निरूपितम् । तत्र प्रथमे पादे साक्षात्कैर्मे प्रमाणभूतायाचोदनायाः पौरुषेष्वाच्चामाणप्रहेतुजाङ्गानिराकरणपूर्वकं तत्र प्रामाण्यमुपपादितम् । द्वितीयपादे अर्थवादमन्त्रयोर्विधिपेक्षितद्रव्यदेवतादिस्मृत्यानुग्रेपार्थस्मृतिसमर्पकतया ; तृतीयपादे मन्त्राचालप्रणीतवेदाविनिरुद्धस्मृत्यादीनां मूलचेदानुमापकतया ; चतुर्थपादे “अक्षिहोत्रं जुहोति” “द्येनेनाभिचरन् यजेत्” इत्यादिविधिवास्यगतानामग्रिहोत्रादिपूर्वानां नाम्ना कर्मसेदः, नाम्ना धर्मातिदेशः, नाम्ना दूरस्यस्यानुवाद इत्यादिप्रयोजनवत्तया^१ कर्मनामतया^२ च तत्र प्रामाण्यसुपषपादितम् ॥

एवं प्रमाणसिद्धस्य धर्मस्य परस्परभिन्नं स्वरूपं द्वितीयाध्याये निरूपितम् । तत्र यजति, ददाति, जुहोति हति चोदनाषु यज्यादित्वातुभेदरूपेण चाव्यान्तरेण यगदानहोमानां भेदः । “समित्रो यजति” “तनूनपातं यजति” इत्यादिविधिषु यजतीति पञ्चकूलोऽन्यासेनाविशेषपुनःश्रुतिरूपेणाभ्यासानां [यगानां] भेदः । “सप्तदश प्राजापस्यान् पश्चात्त्वामेते” इत्यत्र द्रव्यदेवतासम्बन्धभेदिन्या सप्तदशासंख्यया तदनुमेयवागानां भेदः । “अपैष ज्योतिः” इत्यादिवाक्येषु ज्योतिरादिनामवेष्टच [धैर्यैः] तत्रामक्यगानां प्रैकृतज्योतिष्ठोमात् भेदः । “तसे पवसि दद्यानयति सा वैष्णदेव्यामित्ता वाजिभ्यो वाजिनम्” इत्यत्र

१. T adds कर्मनीमांसायां

५. a. Space is left out for

२. G. प्रश्नोजनवाक्यं

writing प्रकृतज्योतिष्ठोमात्

३. G. नामगतावा

and adds लिङ्गादिलक्षणं

४. T. ज्योतिरादीनां च्यैषैः

आमिक्षारूपगुणान्तरावरुद्देः यगे^१ निवेशनलभमालेन वजिनगुणेन वाजिन-
यगत्यानिक्षायागाद्वेदः । प्रकरणान्तरेणानुपादेयगुणसहितासनिधिलक्षणेन
नित्याप्रिहोत्रान्मासाश्रिहोत्रस्य भेद इत्येवं द्वितीयाध्याये कर्मभेदः सापवादः
प्रपञ्चितः ॥

तृतीयाध्याये भिजानां^२ कर्मणां श्रुतिलिङ्गादिभिः प्रमाणैः शेषशेषिभावो
निरूपितः । तत्र निरपेक्षः शब्दः श्रुतिः । सा च विधा—विधात्री, अमिधात्री,
विनियोक्त्री च । लिङ्गादिश्रुतिर्विधात्री । इन्द्रादिश्रुतिर्विधात्री । विनियोक्त्री
तैः एकप्रत्ययरूपा, एकपदरूपा, ^३विभक्तिरूपा चेति विविधा । तत्राचा
“पृष्ठुना यजेत्” इति^४ ; सा हि स्वोक्तकरणकारकं प्रति स्वोक्तैकत्वसंख्यायाः
शेषत्वमर्पयति । द्वितीया तु यजेतेति पदम् ; तेन प्रत्ययोक्तमावनां प्रति
प्रकृत्युक्तयागस्य शेषतोपनीयते । तृतीया च शेषित्वबोधिका शेषत्वबोधिका
चेति द्विविधा । “वीहीन् प्रोक्षति” इत्यादिषु द्वितीया वीक्षादीनां
प्रोक्षणादिक्रियां प्रति इस्तितमलरूपशेषित्वबोधिका^५ । “क्रीते सोमे
मैत्राचरुणाय दण्डं प्रयच्छति” इत्यादिषु चतुर्थीश्रुतिः मैत्राचरुणस्य
प्रदानक्रियेप्तितमलेन कर्मणाभिप्रेयमण्डलरूपशेषित्वबोधिका^६ । “अहणया
कीणाति” इत्यत्र क्रयमावनां प्रत्याहण्यस्य, “चात्वारान्मृदमाहरति”
इत्याहरणक्रियां प्रति चात्वारस्य^७, “वेदां हवीष्यासादयति” इत्यत्र
हविरासादनक्रियां प्रति वेदाश्च तृतीयाप्यवभासितम्यः शेषत्वबोधिकाः ।
पष्ठी तु कचित्^८ “दम्भेन्द्रियकामस्य शुद्धयात्” इत्यादौ शेषित्वबोधिका,
“वज्रानस्य याज्या” इत्यादौ शेषत्वबोधिका च, सम्बन्धमात्रानु-
शिष्टायाः वर्णया वोग्यताप्यनुसारेण उभयषापि पर्यवसामसम्भवात् ॥

१. T. गुणावरद्दे

२. G adds तृतीया

२. T omits यगे

३. T. शेषत्वबोधिका

३. T omits अनु...क्षणेन

४. T. शेषित्वबोधिका

४. T omits भिजानां

५. T. क्षणित्

५. G. ल्वाश्रुतिः

६. T. इत्यत्र क्रयमावकारणस्य कियां

६. G omits तु

प्रति चोदाश्चस्य

७. T. विमर्शिप्रत्ययरूपा

वस्तुसामर्थ्ये लिङ्गम् । तत् द्विविधम्—शास्त्रसामर्थ्यम्, अर्थसामर्थ्ये च । तत्र “वहिर्देवसदनं दामि” इति^१ मन्त्रस्य उत्तरप्रकाशनसामर्थ्यरूपात् लिङ्गात् उत्तरोपता । “स्वधितिनावद्यति”, “सुबेणावद्यति”, “हस्ते-नावद्यति” इत्यबदानसामान्यसाधनत्वेन श्रुतानां स्वधित्यादीनां सामर्थ्यरूप-लिङ्गाद्विशिष्य पांसदवदध्यपुरोडाशाबदानेषु शेषता ॥

दोषितस्य शेषस्यस्य वा वोधिक्या श्रुत्वा रहितः पदसम-
भिक्याहारो यत्क्यन् । यथा ३५ उपोतिष्ठोभेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत् “
“अग्निहोत्रं ब्रह्मणात् स्वर्गकामः” इत्यादि^२ । यथा वा “मैत्रावरुणः
प्रेष्यति चान्याह च” इति । न हि “यागहोमभावनां प्रति स्वर्गस्य
भाव्यत्वेन शेषित्वोधिका द्वितीयादिश्रुतिः” प्रेषानुश्वरं प्रति मैत्रावरुणस्य
कर्तृत्वेन शेषस्यवोधिका “तृतीयादिश्रुतिर्वासित । प्रथमा तु प्रातिपदिक[कार्य]-
मात्रे ५नुशिष्टा अतः पदसमभिक्याहारस्येण वाक्येनात्र शेषोपदिभावत्रोधः ॥

“विधिवावद्यतः कर्तृत्वत्वेनावगतस्य केन प्रकारेण कर्तृत्वयमिति
विशिष्याहायमानस्येतिकर्तृत्वयताकाङ्क्षा प्रकरणम् । तत् द्विविधम्—
महाप्रकरणम्, अवान्तरप्रकरणं चेति । तत्राथेन दर्शपूर्णमासादिकं प्रति
प्रयाजादोनाम्, द्वितीयेन प्रयाजादिकं प्रज्ञभिक्षमणादीनां च—तत्सम्बन्धि-
समाप्तानां शेषता ॥

[देशसामान्य] स्थानम् । तत्^३ द्विविधम्—पथासंख्यम्,
सञ्जितिक्ष । तत्राथेन “द्विविधस्यदध्यो भूयासम्” इति मन्त्रस्याश्रयास्त्री-
षोभीयमन्त्रदूयेभ्यासातत्त्वं अष्टेषास्त्रीषोभीययागद्वयमस्यानुष्टुपेषोपांशुयाजशेषता ।

१. C adds आ

२. T. स्वधितिना...शेषता is read

thus:—

“सुबेणावद्यति” इत्यत्र

सुवस्य विलत्वलिङ्ग इवावदान-

शेषता ॥

३. T omits “ज्योति

यजेत्”

४. T. omits आदि.

५. C. मैत्रावरुणे

६. T. यागभावनां

७. T. द्वितीयाश्रुतिः

८. T. तृतीयाश्रुतिः

९. T. भावः बोधकः

१०. T omits तत्

११. C omits मध्य

सचिधित्तु—आनन्दनिधिः, अनुष्टानसन्निधिरिति द्विधिः । *आवेन “शुभ्यत्वं दैवयाय कर्मणे देवपञ्चायै” इति मन्त्रस्य महाप्रकरणान्तरप्रकरण-रहितस्य साक्षात्पात्रप्रोक्षणशेषता । *द्वितीयेन पशुधर्माणामश्चीयोमीयशेषता ॥

समाल्पा वीगिकी संज्ञा । सा लौकिकी वैदिकी चेति द्विधिः । होतुचमस इति वैदिकसमाख्यया होतुश्चमसमशुणं प्रति, आवर्यवमिति याज्ञिकप्रसिद्धलौकिकसमाख्यया अव्यर्थः अन्वाचानादिकं प्रति च कर्तुवेन शेषता—इत्येवं शेषोविभावः सापबादः तृतीयाभ्याये प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवं लिद्दशेषोविभावानां कर्मणामनुष्टापनश्चिरूपा प्रयुक्तिश्चतुर्थे निरूपिता । शेष्येवं शेषं^१ प्रयुड्के स्वसिद्धवर्थमनुष्टापयति, न त्वनुनिष्ठापयि; नापि शेषः शेषिणं प्रयुड्के । अनेकशेषोविभावान्विडपि यत्रान्यप्रयुलस्यैवान्यत्र विनियोगः, तत्र यद्यप्युलस्यान्यत्र विनियोगः स एव शेषं प्रयुड्के, न तु शेष्यपि सलन्योडपि । एवं च “तसे पयसि दध्यानयति” इत्यादिवाक्ये विद्यायमानस्य दध्यानयनस्य द्विकर्मकल्प कर्मान्तराकालश्चायां समभिव्याहृते पयः कर्मान्तरवेनान्वयमानं सत्त्वस्याधिकरणवेन निर्देशात् प्रधानकर्मतया पर्यवस्यतीति प्रकृतप्रथानभूतपयपरामर्शिना तत्पदेन सामानाधिकरणेन निर्दिष्टतया पयोरूपत्वेनाबगताभिज्ञेव शेषित्वात् त्वशेषभूतदध्यानयनमनुष्टापयति । न तु तदनुनिष्ठादि वाजिनमपीति आभिज्ञात्वाचार एव “पयोडन्तरे दध्यानयनस्य प्रयुक्तिः, न वाजिनापचरे । “कृष्णविषाणवा कण्ठूयते” “चात्वारे कृष्णविषाणां प्रास्यति” इति कृष्णविषाणायाः कण्ठूयनप्रासनरूपक्रियाद्यान्वये सलपि कृष्णविषाणा तृतीयया कण्ठूयनं प्रति शेषः, प्रासनं प्रति तु

१. T omits अनुष्टानसन्निधिः

६. O. विषेषं

२. T adds तत्र

७. उ. यद्यप्युक्तयाग्यत्र

३. G. बान्तरप्यकरणाभिहित

८. O. प्रयोगान्तरे दध्यानयनेन तस्य

४. T omits द्वितीयेन... शेषता

९. O. कृष्णविषाणवेति

५. O. अवचातादिकं

१०. T omits तृतीयया

द्वितीयथा शेषिणीति^१ निरुच्चकण्डूपनप्रयोजनाईः तत्थाः प्रासनाल्पौगपचरे प्रासनार्थं नै पुनः कृष्णविषाणान्तरोपादानप्रशुक्तिः । “पुरोडाशकपाञ्जेन तुपाञ्जपवपति” इत्तत्र पुरोडाशमयुलस्मैव कपालस्य तुपोपवापं ग्रत्यपि शेषत्वेन विनियोगात् वत्र पुरोडाशो नास्ति न तत्र तुपोपवापार्थं कपालप्रशुक्तिः —इत्येवं सापवादा प्रयुक्तिथतुर्थाभ्याये प्रपञ्चिता ॥

एकप्रयोगान्तर्गतानामङ्गप्रधानानामनुष्टानकमः पञ्चमात्यथे^२ श्रुत्यर्थादिभिर्निरूपितः । तत्र “अव्यर्थुर्गुहपति दीक्षुपित्वा ब्रह्माणं दीक्षयति” इत्यादिश्रुत्या गृहपत्यादीनामुखेवत्तानां सप्तदशानां सत्रे यजमानानां दीक्षाक्रमः । “अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति” “यवाग्नूं पचति” इत्यत्र होमद्वयनिष्परश्यर्थवागुपाकप्रयोजनरूपेणार्थेन पाकहोत्रमयोः क्रमः । “समितो यजति” इत्यादिविविद्वितानां प्रयाजादीनां विधिवाक्यपाठकमेण क्रमः । वाजपेये ग्राजापत्यानां पश्चानां प्रतिपञ्चावर्तनीवेष्टपाकरणनियोजनादिपु उपाकरणे यतः द्वृतक्षिद् पशोरारम्भ यत्र कचित् पशी समापिते तेनैव प्रवृत्तिकमेण नियोजनादिक्रमः । सावस्के क्रतौ “सह पश्चानालभते” इति श्रुत्या सवनीयस्थाने एवाङ्गीपोमीयसवनीयानुवर्ण्यपशुत्रयस्यापि सह कर्तव्यतया प्राहो सवनीयस्थानत्वेन प्रथमे सवनीयपशोरुपाकरणम्, अनन्तरमङ्गीषोमीयानूवर्ण्ययोरिति क्रमः । दर्शे पुरोडाशसाक्षाप्ययोः सुस्थिकमेण प्रवाजशेषाभिवारणक्रमः—इत्येवं श्रुत्यादिभिः क्रमः सापवादः प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवं द्वितीये उत्पत्तिविधिप्रमेयस्य कैर्मेदस्य, तुतीये विनियोगविधिप्रमेयस्य शेषशेषिभावस्य, चतुर्थपञ्चमयोः प्रयोगविधिप्रमेययोः प्रयुक्तिक्रमयोश्च निरूपणानन्तरं षष्ठेऽधिकारविधिप्रमेयः कलसम्बन्धो निरूपितः । तत्र स्वर्ग-

१. T. शेषीति

२. T. omis श्रुत्यादिभिः

३. T. निरुच्च

४. T. स्थानेन

५. T. प्रयोजनकार्याः

६. T. कर्म श्रुत्यादिभिः सापवादः

७. T. पूर्वमपचारे

८. T. कालमन्त्रस्य

९. T. तत्पुनः

कामादिपदं विधिष्योऽजनभृतपुरुषप्रवृत्त्येष्ठितफलविदेषान्वयपरम्, न तु चन्द्र-
नांदिरुपयागादिव्यसमर्दकम् । तेष्व फलं स्वर्गकामं इत्याशुरेव्यगतलिङ्ग-
विदेषस्याविद्यश्चित्तात् लोणामेषविशिष्टम् । “नदिकामाः सत्र-
मासारन्” इत्यैवैकस्य कुलं फलम्, न तु परिवदते फलमित्यैकस्य
फलान्वयः—इत्येवमादिरुपेणाधिकारार्थः विष्णुं सापबादः प्रपञ्चितः ॥

एवं विचित्रात्मामकोपदेशविचारे पूर्वपट्टकं हुते ततः परमस्याय-
चितुष्टयेनातिदेशविचारः क्रियते । ‘इत्यं कर्तव्यम्’ इति प्रतिर्णादिनसुपदेशः ।
‘तद्वत्तर्त्वलिप्यम्’ इत्यतिदेशः । तत्र सप्तमाष्टमयोर्बचननामवेयचेदैवतिदेशो निरू-
पितः । इत्यनामके कतौ काञ्छिद्देशोषिकाङ्गानामिषावतिदेशः ; “मासमग्निहोत्रं
जुहोति” इति ग्रत्यक्षबचनेन “ईयेनवैशोषिकाङ्गानामिषावतिदेशः ; “मासमग्निहोत्रं
जुहोति” इत्यत्र नित्याग्निहोत्रेऽग्निदेवतां कुलात् तावत्कल्पसशक्तिकेन तत्साहस्र-
विचित्तस्य कौण्डपायिनामवेण कर्मणि प्रयुक्तेनाग्निहोत्रेनामध्येन तस्मिन्नित्याग्नि-
होत्रघर्माणामतिदेशात् सापबादः सप्तमे पादव्रयेण निरूपितः ॥

ततुर्थपादेन “सौर्यं चरुं निर्बोपेत्” इत्यादिष्वसुपदिष्टवर्णेषु ग्रत्यक्ष-
बचनस्य नाज्ञातिदेशकस्याभावेऽपि कुलश्चिद्देविकात् कर्मणो घर्मग्राहकं बचन-
मस्तीत्याशुमानिकवचनस्येण चोदकातिदेशः सापान्वयो निरूपितः ॥

अष्टमे तु कस्य कुलो घर्मग्रासिरिष्याकाङ्गाशां शब्दार्थगतसाहस्रविशेष-
लिङ्गादिष्टीनां दर्शपूर्णमासतो धर्मप्राप्तिः, अश्वीषोमीवर्ष्णुतः पश्चनाम्,
सवनीयादिकादशिनानाम्, उयोतिष्ठोमात् सोमानाम्, द्रादवाहादहर्गणानाम्,
गवामयनात् संवत्सरसज्जाणाम्—इत्येवंस्येण विशिष्येण चोदकातिदेशः सापबादः
प्रपञ्चितः ॥

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| १. ३. प्रयोगभूत | १. T omits क्रियते |
| २. ३. पुरुषविशेष | १०. T omits प्रतिष्ठादनं |
| ३. ३. चन्द्रनल्पयागादि | ११. T omits इवेन |
| ४. ३. ततश्च | १२. ३. देवतासद्वाचात् कुलत- |
| ५. ३. इत्यादोषैकस्य | १३. ३. घर्मग्रापकं |
| ६. ३. सापबादः विष्णु | १४. ३. omits पशु |
| ७. ३. चतुर्ष्वश्वमेयात्मचतुर्ष्वयेनातिदेशविचार | १५. ३. omits विशिष्य |
| ८. ३. चतुर्थेन | |

अतिदिष्टाना॒ मन्त्रसामसंस्काराणां प्राकृतपदार्थकार्योपचारैकृतपदार्थोन्तर-
सम्बन्धेताम्यथाभावरूप ऊहो नवमे चिन्तितः । प्रौकृतपदार्थकार्योपत्तिः प्रत्यक्षेण
अनुभानेन[न, प्रत्यक्षवचनेन,] प्रत्यक्षवचनावगतप्राकृतनिवृत्पनुभितशब्देन,
प्रत्यक्षवचनावगतलिङ्गोनीतनिवृत्पनुभितशब्देन वावसीयते । “नैवारथ्यसुः” इत्यत्र
प्राकृतकीहिकार्यहृविनिष्ठादकर्त्तव्य प्रत्यक्षेणावसीयते, नै तु नैवार इति तद्वितेन,
“तस्येदम्” इति सम्बन्धसामान्येऽप्यप्रत्यविधानात् तत्य प्रकृतिविकारमावै-
रूपसम्बन्धविशेषपर्यवासायित्वकल्पनायाः प्रत्यक्षाधीनत्वात् । नैर्भितं चर्हे प्रकृत्ये
“कृष्णानां बीहीणां नखनिर्मितात्” इत्यत्र श्रुतरूप नखरूप प्राकृतोद्घालमुसलकार्यो-
पत्तिः न प्रत्यक्षेणावसीयते । उद्घालमुसलकार्यां बीहीणामवहननं निष्पद्धते, नखेन
“निर्भेदनमिति प्रत्यक्षेण कार्यमेदस्यैव दर्शनात्; किन्तु अवहननेनेव निर्भेदनेनापि
त्रुपविमोक्षात् तेष्वुलनिष्ठातिर्दर्शनेन प्राकृतवघातस्योद्घालमुसलकार्यत्वां यद्यूप
विचक्षितं तेष्वुलनिष्ठपत्तिद्वारेणापूर्वोपयोगिकिवात्वं तच्चिर्भेदनेऽपि समानमिति
तेन रूपेणावहनननिर्भेदनयोरेक्यस्योनेवत्वात् कार्योपतिरसुमानेनावसीयते ।
“परिधीं पञ्च निषुझीत” इत्यत्र प्राकृतपञ्चकार्ये पञ्चनियोजने परिवेविनियोगः
प्रत्यक्षवचनेनाभिवीयते । “न गिरा गिरेति बूथादिरं कृत्वोद्गेयम्” इत्यत्र गिरा-
पदेकिप्रतिषेधावगतवा गिरापदनिवृत्य तत्कार्यत्वं साचनपेश्वत्वावगमात्मकार्य-
वाचिपदमनुमाय “गिरापदकार्यपूर्वमैर् कृत्वोद्गेयम्” इस्तेष्वरूपेण श्रुतात्मितैकदेश-
निष्ठादितेन वैक्येन गिरापदकार्यपतिरिपदस्यावसीयते । “यस्योभयं हविरार्ति-
मान्त्रेदैन्द्रं पञ्चशारावमोदनं निर्विपेत्” इत्यत्र पञ्चशारावदव्यक्तस्य यागस्ये दर्शकार्यो-
पत्तौ दर्शनिवृत्तिर्नं प्रत्यक्षवचनाद्वगम्यते ; किन्तु द्रव्यनाशादवर्गम्यते[दुर्जीयते] ।

१. c omits प्राकृत...पत्तिः and adds तत्र
2. T omits न तु
३. G. मावसंबन्ध
४. c omits प्राकृत्य and reads
 in its place निर्भेदे चर्हे
५. G. निष्पद्धते

६. T adds तेषां
७. T omits तेष्वुल...विचक्षितम्
८. T. प्राप्यूपकार्य
९. T omits इत्यत्र...कृत्वोद्गेय
१०. c omits वाक्येन
११. T adds ए
१२. G. दनुद्गीवते

तक्षिवृत्तौ तत्कार्यस्य साधनप्रेक्षतयो तदाचिपदमनुमाय । दर्शकार्याथैमेन्द्रं पञ्चशराब्दमोदनं निर्विपेत् । इति श्रुतानुभिलेकदेशानिधायेन वाक्येन पञ्चशराब्दयागस्य दर्शकार्यापित्तिरवसीयते । “स प्रख्यामनेत्स्यानात्”^१ इति पष्टाच्यायाधिकरणपूर्वपञ्चरीत्येदमुदाहरणम् । सिद्धान्ते^२ द्रव्यापचारे द्रव्यान्तरानयनेन दर्शनिध्येन तक्षिवृत्तपुलयनमत्तिख्युदाहरणान्तरमनेत्यणीयम् ॥

एवं कार्यापत्त्या वीहिधर्मणिमयवालादीनां नीवरेषु, उद्गत्तमुसलघर्मणां प्रोक्षणादीनां नखेषु, यूपधर्मणां परिव्याणादीनां परिवौ चोहः संस्कारोहः, देशधर्मणां सिद्धान्ते नास्त्यहः पञ्चशराब्दयोगे । गिरापदगतगीतिक्रियार्थो इत्यपदे जहः सामोहः । मन्त्रोहस्तवष्टविषः— कचित् प्रकृतिमात्रमृद्गते, यथा “अङ्गैर्य जुष्टम्” इति मन्त्रे सौर्यं चरुं प्राप्ते “सूर्याय जुष्टम्” इति ; कचिछिङ्गमात्रमृद्गते, यथा “वस्त्रयसि रुद्रोऽसि” इत्येकद्वयमन्त्रे विहृतिविदेषविहितं सोमक्रयणं कर्तुं प्राप्ते “वसुरसि रुद्रोऽसि” इति ; कचिद्द्रुच्चममात्रमृद्गते, यथा “छागस्य वपाया मेदसः” इति मन्त्रे प्राप्तापत्यान् पश्चत् प्राप्ते “छागानाम्” इति ; कचित् प्रकृतिलिङ्गं चोद्गते, यथा तस्मिन्नेवं “अङ्गैर्य जुष्टं निर्विपामि” इति मन्त्रे आदिर्य चरुं प्राप्ते “अदिर्यै जुष्टम्” इति ; कचित् प्रकृतिः वचनं चोद्गते, यथा तस्मिन्नेवं मन्त्रे वैशदेवं चरुं प्राप्ते “विद्येभ्यो देवेभ्यः” इति ; कचिछिङ्गं वचनं चोद्गते, यथा “प्रात्मा अङ्गि भरत” इति मन्त्रे “महाता आलभेत्” इति विहितान्^३ पश्चत् प्राप्ते “प्राभ्योऽग्निम्” इति ; कचित् त्रीष्पद्मृद्गते, यथा “आपो देवीः” इति मन्त्रे “आउपे प्रोक्षणम्” इति सोमारौद्रचरो विहितं शृतं प्राप्ते “शृत देव” इति ; कचित् सकलस्य पदस्यान्यासरूप ऊहः यथा “एकवास्य त्वचमाच्छृण-

१. T. फेक्षया

स्थाने सौर्येचरौ “दूर्योपः” इति

२. T. प्रत्यमाने

७. T. omits तस्मिन्नेव

३. T. adds तु

८. T. omits निर्विपामीति मन्त्रे

४. G. क्रियायाभिरपदे

९. T. adds मन्त्रे

५. Both G and T read दर्श...यागे after समोहः ८ दर्शधर्मणां तु

१०. T. विहितं शृणु

६. G. “अङ्गैर्य जुष्टं निर्विपामि” इत्यत्रामि- १२. P. भूतं वेव

११. P. मन्त्रेण

तात् ॥ इति मन्त्रे पशुगणं ग्रासे “एकथेकधा” इति । एवमूः सापवादो
नवमे प्रणिते ॥

एवमातिदेशिकपदार्थगतस्यान्तरामकोहनिरूपणानन्तरं तनिरूप्यात्मको
वाधो दक्षमे निरूपितः । निरूतिश्च कस्यचित् कचिदतिदेशवाक्यप्रवृत्ति-
कले प्रकृतावचिङ्गात्मेन लद्वाहात्मासंभवात्, यथा दर्शपूर्णमासज्जमूलाया
आरम्भणीयायाः [याः आरम्भणीयायाऽ] । न द्वारमणीयाविधौनसमये
दर्शपूर्णमासयोरारम्भणीयाङ्गमिति विङ्गात्म, येन सापि प्रवाजादिवदति-
देशवाक्येनै गृह्णोत् ; कस्यचिदलिदेशवाक्यप्रवृत्तिकले प्रकृतौ विङ्गात्मस्याप्य-
सम्भवान्निरूप्तिः, यथा पवमानेषावभिहोत्रहृष्ट्यः । यथाग्निहोत्रे हृतं
साग्निहोत्रहृष्ट्यां प्रकृतौ “अग्निहोत्रहृष्ट्या हर्वाणि निर्वपति” इति
निर्वाणपक्षरणवेन ग्राहेति स्थितम् । न च पवमानेषिसमयेऽग्निहोत्रे हृतम् ।
कचित् द्वारलोपानिरूपितः तत्र द्वारलोपः कचित् द्वारस्याभिमतस्य स्वतः
सिद्धतया, यथा कृष्णलेखवाक्यात्मद्वारस्य वैतुष्ट्यस्य स्वतःसिद्धतयाव-
धातस्य निरूप्तिः ; कचित् पूर्वसिद्धतया, यथा “खुलेवाली यूपो भवति”
इत्यत्र खुलेवाल्याः प्रागेव चित्त्वा तक्षणेन उक्तणीकृत्य निखातायाः छेदन-
तक्षणोच्चर्यणार्दीनां निरूपितः ; कचित् द्वारसंपादनाशक्या । यथा—प्राशित्रेडा-
भक्षणार्थेषु कृष्णलेषु अमिघारणजन्मोपकारस्य स्वादित्तः संपादयितुमशक्यत्वात्
अभिघारणस्य ; कचित् सिद्धशेषिविरोधानिरूपितः, यथा—आशयणदंक्षिणा-
र्हूपे वत्सेऽन्वाङ्गार्थमर्त्य पाकस्य । पाके हि हृते कस्तो नस्येत् ; तन्मांसमेव
दक्षिणा स्यात् । कचित् साप्यशेषिविरोधात् तैनिरूपितः, यथा “वार्हस्त्पत्यो नैवार-

३. T. विचिन्तितः

४. T. प्रागेव खलेवाल्याः

५. T. विधिसमये

६. T. उच्चरूपातां

७. T. देशवाक्येन

८. G. अमिघारणनिरूपितः

९. T. प्रवृत्तौ

१०. G. Space is left out for

११. T. अथ निवारे करणलेन

writing गदक्षि

१२. G. Space is left out for

१३. T. omits हृत्

writing द्वारस्य

सप्तदशशारावः चरुमेवति” इत्यत्र निर्बाचेतु “चतुरो सुष्ठीकिर्वपति” इत्यति-
देशप्राप्त्य चतुर्मुहिपरिमाणस्य सप्तदशपरिमाणचरुहृपसाध्यशेषिविचिरोपित्वात्
संख्यामुख्येरन्यतरवाचावद्यमावे जग्म्यत्वान्मुहितिहृतिः ; कचिदिरोधाभावेऽपि
प्रयोर्जनाभावानिहृतिः , यथा आप्रयणदक्षिणाल्पे वाससि पाकस्य । वैकृती
हि अन्वाहार्यहृपदक्षिणाद्वयनिष्टव्यर्थम् “दक्षिणाप्रावपरिगिते महाभत्तमोदनं
पूचति” इति पाको विहितः । इह दक्षिणाद्वये वाससि प्रागेव निष्टके रितेते
तनिष्टव्यनुपयोगेन। किं पाकेन ॥

दौरलोपानिवृतिरित्यत्र द्वारशब्देन यद्द्वारतया फलतया वा प्रयोजनं
तस्मै विवक्षितम् । तेन मृते यजमाने क्रियमाणायामिष्ठै “आदुराशास्ते”
इत्यादिमन्त्राणां विवक्षितफलानां मृतयजमानस्यायुरादिफललोपानिवृतिरप्यु-
दाहरणमित्यादि॑ द्रष्टव्यर्थम् ॥

कचित् प्रत्याभानात् प्राङ्गतपैर्दीर्घानां निहृतिः । साध्यमेकविधा । कचि-
द्दुपदिष्टपदार्थविरोधानिहृतिः, यथा —“ओदुम्बरो यूरो भवति” इति वैकृतैपशी
अतिदेशप्राप्तयुपोदेशेन उदुभैरुपप्रकृतिद्वयविधानार्थै उदुम्बरप्रकृतिके यूपे
प्राकृतस्य वित्तपलाशादैः विरोधेन प्रकृतित्वासम्भवानिहृतिः ; कचिद्दुपदिष्ट-
पैर्दीर्घातवृत्तनैरेक्षपविरोधानिहृतिः , यथा —“नैवारक्षरुमेवति” इत्यत्र
नीवारप्रकृतिके चरौ वैहतप्तुलानामपि विशेषेन प्रकृतित्वासम्भवेऽपि नीवारशब्दपर-

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|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| १. T. निर्बाचेतु | ८. G. तस्मैमपि कि,,तमनेन |
| २. T. देशप्राप्तसप्तदशशारावपरिमाण- | ९. O. इति |
| ३. T. मुख्यः | १०. T. द्रष्टव्यर्थै |
| ४. G. Space is left out for | ११. T. पदार्थनिहृतिः |
| writing योजनाभावात् | १२. T. दैकृपशी |
| ५. T. ग्रन्थस्त्री | १३. T. ओदुम्बरयूप |
| ६. G. Space is left out for | १४. T. विधै |
| writing पञ्च...दक्षिणा | १५. T. omits पदार्थ |
| ७. G. adds यदा | |

तद्वितोपर्यगतनैरपेक्ष्यविरोधात् ब्रौहीणां निवृत्तिः । नीवाराणां ब्रीहिसोपेक्षाणां
चहप्रकृतित्वे हि सोपेशमसुर्धमिति असमर्थत् तद्वितोपर्यैत्तिः न स्यात् । कचि-
दविरोधेऽपि नैरपेक्ष्याभिवृत्तिः, यथा—आप्रयणे “बासो दक्षिणा” “बलः
प्रथमजो दक्षिणा” इति श्रुताभ्यां वासोवसाभ्याम् ऋत्विजामानती तयोरन्वा-
हार्यनिरपेक्ष्यकारणात् त्रैकृतान्वाहार्यदक्षिणाया निवृत्तिः ; कचिच्छेष्टपेक्ष्या-
भावेऽपि नियमवशात् निवृत्तिः, यथा—ऋतपेते “ओद्रुम्बरसोमचमसो दक्षिणा
सप्रियाय सगोचाय ब्रह्मणे देयः” इति श्रुतेन सोमचमसेन वेत्त्वा ब्रह्मणे
दखेन लौकिकोपायान्तरमनपेत्प्र ऋत्विजामानैतेरसम्भवेऽपि श्रुतनियमविविवशात्
त्रैकृतद्वादशावतदक्षिणाया निवृत्तिरित्युदाहरणीयम् ॥

कचित् प्रतिवेधात् प्राकृतपदार्थनिवृत्तिः । प्रतिवेदशब्देनात्र यः
कथित् प्राकृतपदार्थनिवृत्तिरो विधिः स चर्चाऽपि विषयक्तिः । तेन महापितृयक्ते
“नार्येण वृणीते” इत्यनेन आर्येयवरणवै प्रकृतिश्वत् कुर्यात् इति पर्युदासेन या
तस्मिन्नार्येयवरणनिवृत्तिः “न तौ पश्यो करोति” इति आप्यभागमिवार्थी पशा-
याज्यभागनिवृत्तिः, “आज्यभागौ यजति” इति अपूर्वतापरविचिना आप्यभागैःपैः
या गृहमेवीये निवृत्तिः सा संघार्थोदाहरणम् । एवं च दर्शपूर्णमासयोः “कपलेषु
श्रपयति” इति वाऽन्यस्य तप्तुलहविष्केषु विप्रादित्रु ब्रौह्युपादाननिवृत्तेरेव
फलत्वात् साप्यत्रोदाहरणम् । यथा च “कपलेषु३ श्रपयति” इति विधेः तप्तुल-
हविष्काषु विज्ञतिपु प्रकृतिद्रव्योपादाननिवृत्तिरेव फलम् , तथा त्रैपञ्चेन प्रसाधि-
तस्माभिः विधिरसायने ॥

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| १. ८. तद्वितानुत्वादात् | २. १. निवृत्तिरेव |
| २. १. प्राकृतान्वाहार्ये | ९. ८. करोति |
| ३. ८. नते: | १०. १. भागानां |
| ४. १. प्राकृत्या | ११. १ omits चर्चा |
| ५. १. उदाहार्यम् | १२. १ omits एवं च |
| ६. १. निवृत्तिफलकी | १३. १. Space is left out for
writing लैतु...विधेः |
| ७. १. Space is left out for
writing ज्ञायेः...वृत्तिः | १४. १ omits श्रपयते |

एतमुपदेशविषये वतिदेशविषये च पृथक् निरूपणीयेषु निरूपितेषु
तद्युभयसाधारणयोः तन्त्रप्रसङ्गयोः निरूपणीययोः एकादशे तन्त्रे निरूपितम् ।
तस्मिन्विधम्—फलतन्त्रम्, पैदार्थतन्त्रम्, अनुष्ठानतन्त्रम् चेति । “दर्शपूर्ण-
मासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामे यजेत्” इत्यत्रै फलमुद्दिश्योपादीयमानानां आग्रेयादीनां
पणो दृन्द्राक्षगतम्, “रैजसूयेन स्वाराज्यपकामो यजेत्” इत्यत्र बहूनामिष्ट-
पशुसोमानामेकेन नामोपेदानात् तन्त्रानिष्ठानावगतं च साहित्ये विवक्षितमिति
सहितानां फलान्वयात् आग्रेयादीनां वण्णा फलं राजसूयनामगृहीतानां च
फलं साधारणम् । तदेतत् फलतन्त्रम् ॥

“समे दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत्” “पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमास्या यजेत्”
“दर्शपूर्णमासयोः चत्वार क्षत्वितः” इति विहिता देशकालकर्त्तार एकफल-
साधनानां कर्मणां यथायेण साधारणा इत्येतत्पदार्थतन्त्रम् ॥

एकफलानामेकदेशकालकर्त्तव्याणां यदङ्गभूतप्रयाजाद्यनुष्ठानं साधारणं
तदनुष्ठानतन्त्रम् । फलैक्येऽपि यत्र देशकालकर्त्तव्यामन्यतमस्यापि भेदः तत्र प्रति-
प्रधानमङ्गानुष्ठानाद्यतिळक्षणः आवापः । तत्र द्वादशोद्देव द्वादशानां सोमयागानां
द्वादशस्तवहस्तु कर्त्तव्यानां कालभेदात् सुत्यकालकर्त्तव्यसवनीयपशुप्रस्त्यङ्गा-
नुष्ठानाद्यतिः, बहुणप्रधासेषु नवहविष्काशामिष्टैः विहारद्येव विवाय “अष्टाव-
च्चर्युरुत्तरे विहारे हृषीप्यासादयति मारुतीमेव प्रतिप्रस्थाता दक्षिणस्मिन्”
इति देशभेदविभानात् तत्र देशोऽष्टानां दक्षिणां मारुत्याक्षाङ्गानुष्ठानं भिदत
इति देशभेदेन तदाद्यतिः ; तत्रैव “गार्हपत्ये पञ्चसंयाजान् ऊहोति” इति
विहितानाम् आपराङ्गिकहोमानां देशकालैक्येऽपि अच्चर्युप्रतिप्रस्थातूरूप-

१. G. विषयेष्वतिदेशविषयेषु च

after आग्रेयादीनो वण्णां

२. G. अनुष्ठानतन्त्रं पदार्थतन्त्रं चेति

३. T. नामा तन्त्रा

४. T adds बहूनाम् एकं

५. G. आपराङ्गिक

६. T. राज...नाथगतं is written

कर्तुमेदात् भेदः । यत्र कर्तुत्वाधिष्ठानाभेदेऽपि कर्तुकारकभेदः तत्रापि प्रयोगभेदेन अङ्गानुष्ठानाबृत्तिरेव , यथा “अग्रायेणवमेकादशकापालं निर्वेषति वामनो वही दक्षिणा” “सोमायैर्ण चर्ह निर्वेषति श्वासो दक्षिणा” । इत्यादिवाक्यविहितेष्वै राजसूयान्तर्गतवागेषु देशकालफलभेदाप्रतीताच्चिदि वामनानर्तैः आग्रायेणवव्यागः कर्तव्यः ; श्वासानर्तैः सोमायैर्णः चर्हः कर्तव्य इत्येवं दक्षिणाऽप्यवर्त्यवा तद्वेदात् कर्तुरूपं मिथत इति तर्तः [इत्यतः] प्रतिवागप्रयोग-भेदात् अङ्गानुष्ठानाबृत्तिः । यानि तु कालभेदेन कर्तुत्यानामपि प्रवचनानां कर्मकालाधङ्कानि तान्यगृह्णनाणविशेषत्वात् संवेषणा तन्वं भजन्ति, यथा ज्योतिष्ठेष्वे अग्नीयोभीयसप्तनीयान्वयन्वयश्चनाम् “दीक्षात् यूर्ण छिनति” इति दीक्षाकालकर्तव्यत्वेन विहितो यूर्णः ; यथा द्वादशाहे द्वादशानां सोम-व्यागानामहभेदेन कर्तव्यानां दीक्षोपत्तद्वादय इत्येवं सापवादं तन्वमेकादशे निरूपितम् ॥

द्वादशे प्रसङ्गो निरूपितः । अन्यार्थेनाभ्यस्य तत्प्रयुक्तिशर्तस्योपकारः प्रसङ्गः—यथा भोजनार्थं प्रथममागतस्याचार्यस्य कृतेन सूपापूर्णादिना ० क्षेत्रादागतस्य स्वयमाचार्यनैरेक्ष्येणापि सूपापूर्णादिप्रयुक्तिशर्तकस्य जामातुरूपकारः । यतु अन्यार्थेन स्वयं तत्प्रयुक्तिशर्तहितमुपक्रियते तत्र प्रसङ्गः ; किंतु आचार्यर्थकृत-सूपापूर्णक्रियमाणपरिचारकादिवत् तद्वृपजीव्यप्रयोजनंकम्, यथा दध्यानवनेन उपक्रियमाणं वाजिनम् । पुरोदाशकपालं प्रति तुषोपवापस्य शेषिते सखपि न तत्प्रयुक्तिशक्तिः पुरोदाशकपालेनेति सविशेषणोपादानेमौन्यप्रयुक्तयुप-वीचित्वाविष्टरणात् । स च प्रसङ्गः त्रिविवः—अनुष्ठानप्रसङ्गः पदार्थप्रसङ्गः

१. T. प्रयोगभेदादङ्गानामाबृत्तिरेव	writing संवेषणा तन्वं
२. G. याक्षयेषु	I. इत्येवं स्वप्नेण
३. G. व्यवस्थिताच्च	२. I. शक्तिकर्त्य
४. G. Space is left out for writing ततः... अङ्गा	३. I. शक्तिकस्य
५. T. प्रथानकर्मणा कर्मे.	१०. T. प्रयोजनं
६. G. Space is left out for writing नान्य... प्रसङ्गः	११. G. Space is left out for writing नान्य... प्रसङ्गः

शास्त्रप्रसङ्गेति । तत्र पश्यथप्रयाजाधनुष्टनेन पशुपुरोडाशात्मकारोऽनुशान-
प्रसङ्गः ; सैवित्र्या वेदा सोमान्तर्मीलेहिपशूनामुपकारः पदार्थप्रसङ्गः ;
‘वाजनादिभिः जाह्नवो धनमार्जयेत्’ इति द्रव्याजनशास्त्रेण उपोति-
ष्टोमादिशास्त्रस्य क्षत्रियगणेभ्यस्याविशेषेण वैवर्गिकानामार्त्तिज्यमाशेष्टुं प्रतृतस्योप-
कारः शास्त्रप्रसङ्गः—इत्येवमादिरूपेण द्वादशे साप्तवादः प्रसङ्गो निरूपितः ॥

इति धर्ममीमांसासारसङ्ग्रहब्याख्या परिभाषा
पूर्वमीमांसाविषयसङ्ग्रहदीपिका
अप्यवदीक्षितकृता
॥ समाप्ता ॥

GUNAVIŚNU AND SĀYANA¹

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH,
Mysore.

Guṇaviśnu is the author of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*, a good edition of which has been brought out recently (in 1930) at Calcutta (Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad Series, No. 19) by Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya. It is said by the editor, on p. xxxv of his *Introduction*, that two other works also, a commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa* and another on the mantras occurring in the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra*, have been written by Guṇaviśnu; but of the last-named work no copy has yet come to light, and it is therefore very doubtful if Guṇaviśnu ever wrote such a work.

One remarkable fact in connection with the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* is the close verbal agreement that is observable between the explanations given by Guṇaviśnu of some mantras and those given by Sāyana, in respect of the same mantras, in his commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*. Prof. Bhattacharya has drawn attention to this matter on p. xxvii ff. of the above-mentioned *Introduction*, and has given on p. xxviii three examples of such agreement. I give here three other examples²:

1. Paper read at the 8th All-India Oriental Conference, (Vedic section) at Mysore, on 31st December 1935.

2. That there is close verbal agreement between Sāyana's and Guṇaviśnu's explanations of these three mantras, has already been mentioned by Joergensen on p. viii of the introduction to his edition of the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* of the Sāmaveda; see p. xxix of Prof. Bhattacharya's introduction to his edition of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*.

Sāyana's bhāṣya¹ on
SM Br., 2, 4, 2-4:

इमं स्तोमं मित्यनेन जागतैतन कौत्सोऽग्नि-
मस्तीत् । एत्यस्य यदहस्य यज्ञोऽहनि-
आग्निमारुते शब्दे विनियोगः ।

इमं स्तोमं वयं सम्भवेत् । मह
पूजायाम् । सम्यक् पूजोपकरणयुक्तं कुमेः ।
जातवेदसे जातियिचो वा जातधनो वा
जातप्रणो वा जातयेदाः तदर्थम् । किं-
भूताय । अहृते स्तुतियोग्याय । कथा ।
मनीषया प्रश्ना रथमिव सारथिः ।
हि यस्मात् कारणात् नः अस्माकम्
अस्य अग्नेः सकाशात् प्रसादा-
द्वा भद्रा कल्पाणी सुखा वा प्रमतिः
प्रकृष्टा तुदिः संसदि जनसमाजे जायते
यथा वयमपि स्तोत्रं जानीमः । तस्मादेष्य
अग्ने वस्त्वमेवं भूतः तत्प तत्प सर्वये
मित्रत्वे स्थिता वयं केनचिद् दुरात्मना
मा रिषाम मा हिंसिष्ठेतदाशास्यम् ।

Gūṇavīśvī's bhāṣya on Chāndo-
gyamantra-pāṭha², 1, 7-9:

जागतीत्रयमिदम्, कौत्स ऋषिः, अग्नि-
देवता, पूज्यस्य पदहस्य यज्ञोऽहनि आग्नि-
मारुते शब्दे परित्यमूहने च विनियोगः
तथा च यस्मात् (गो. ४, ५, ५) “इमं
भराम शक्तेमेति परित्यमूहेत्” । इमं स्तोमं
स्तावं वयं सम्भवेत्, मह पूजायाम्, सम्यक्
पूजोपकरणयुक्तं कुर्यामि । कर्त्तमै ।
जातवेदसे जातियिचो वा जातधनो वा
जातप्रणो वा जातयेदाः तस्मै ।
किंभूताय । अहृते स्तुतियोग्याय ।
कथा । मनीषया प्रश्ना । रथमिव
सारथिरित्यप्याहार्यन् । हि यस्मात्
नः अस्माकम् अस्य अग्नेः सकाशात् भद्रा
कल्पाणी सुखा वा^३ प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा तुदिः
संसदि जनसमाजे जायते यथा वयमपि
स्तोत्रं जानीमः । तस्मात् हे अग्ने वस्त्व-
मेवं भूतस्य तत्प सर्वये मित्रत्वे स्थिता

1. As the editions of Stoenner and Joergensen of Chaps. I and II of the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* of the Sāma-Veda are not accessible to me, I have here reproduced the text of Sāyana's commentary that is contained in a ms. of the Mysore Oriental Library. This ms. (no. B 827) is written on paper, and is a copy made for the library by a copyist. As the reading of this ms. agrees essentially with that found in two other palm-leaf mss. of the same library, one can assume that it is a faithful representative of the commentary written by Sāyana. There are many corruptions and omissions in all the three mss. In the passages reproduced by me, obvious corruptions have been emended whenever it has been possible to do so.

2. I shall make use of this name when referring to the collection of mantras that have been explained by Gūṇavīśvī in his *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*.

3. This is without doubt a corruption for *sukhād*; compare Sāyana's explanation.

तमहेमा रिपामेति च मकारेक्षोः
लघ्योः परतः “एकादशिद्वादशिनो-
लवाचाष्टमसूत्रम्”¹, इति शीनकवचनात्
[कल्पातिशाख्य, 8, 21; sūtra 523
in Max Müller's edition] दीर्घत्वम्। पाणिनिनापि “अन्येषामपि
हृश्यते” इति दीर्घः ॥ 2.

भरामेभाष् । हे अग्ने त्वदर्थं
मिभ्यम् । अभिसमित्वन् काणुभिद्ध-
मित्युन्पते । तमिध्यं भराम आह-
राम । हर्वीषि च चवोदीनि
पर्वणा पर्वणा पर्वणि पर्वणि चित्यन्तः
जननन्तः वयं कुणवाम सन्धादयाम इति
वाचत् । तथा च श्रुतिः “अमावास्यात्-
ममपास्येन यजेत् पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमासेन
यजेत्” इति । किमर्थम् । प्रतराम्
अत्यन्तं दीर्घकालं जीवनात् जीवनाय
“तुमये सेसेन्” इति जीवतेस्तत्वेन-
प्रत्ययः । कि च हे अग्ने साधयविद्यः ।
पीरिति कर्मनामाग्ने पठयते । तेनेद-
मुक्तं मवति । अस्माभिः कियमाणानि
कर्माणि साधय निष्पादय सफलानि
कुर्विल्लर्थः । साधयेति यकारस्य शीनक-
वचनात्² दीर्घत्वम् । कुणवामेति च
मकारस्य इकारो परतः³ पूर्वदीर्घत्वम् ॥ 3.

वयं केनचिद् दुरात्मना मा रिपाम
मा हिसिमाइ तदाशास्यते । तमहेमेति ।
रिपामेति चापि “अन्येषामपि हृश्यते”
इति दीर्घः ॥ 7.

हे अग्ने त्वदर्थम् इध्यं यजदारु भराम
आहराम । हर्वीषि चरुप्रसूतीनि पर्वणा
पर्वणा पर्वणि पर्वणि वयं कुणवाम
सन्धादयाम निर्वणमेति वाचत् । तथा च
श्रुतिः “अमावास्यावाममावासेन यजेत्
पौर्णमासद्वा पौर्णमासेन” इति । किमर्थम् ।
प्रतराम् अतिशयेन यज्ञेण सुदीर्घकालं
जीवनात् जीवनाय । कि च । साधय
विद्यः । पीरिति कर्मणो नाम । तेनैत-
दुक्तं मवति । अस्माभिः कियमाणानि
कर्माणि साधय सफलानि कुरु इत्यर्थः ।
भरामेति “द्वयैर्हर्मक्त्वन्दसि” इति
एकारत्वं भकारः । पर्वणा पर्वणिति
“तुपो सुख्म्” इत्यादिना सप्तम्या
आह । कुणवाम इति साधया इति
“अन्येषामपि हृश्यते” इति
दीर्घः ॥ 8.

हे अग्ने त्वम् अस्माकं विद्यः कर्माणि
सुदीर्घां साधय त्वदाराधनयोन्मा
निष्पादय, गथा वयं स्वा त्वां समिधं
शुकेन परिचरितुं शक्तुयाम । ते त्वयि
आहुतं हृषिः देवाः इन्द्रादयः अदन्ति

1. The ms. has here the corrupt reading *etau dvādaśa-
dvādaśino iyabdhō navāṣṭamam akārakṣaram*.

2. Saunaka's rule that is referred to here is sūtra 523 (8,22) of the Rk-pratiśākhya : *daśamam caitayor evam*, and not sūtra 523 which has been cited above. It is probable, therefore, that the text here is corrupt and that Sāyāna actually cited this sūtra too here.

3. There is no rule in the Rk-pratiśākhya that enjoins the lengthening of a short *a* (or other short vowel) when *ha* follows, and I do not know to what rule, of that or other similar work, Sāyāna is here referring.

शकेम त्वा । हे भगवन् हे अमे त्वं मध्यनिः, तन्मुखत्वालेपाम् । अतस्त्वं
चियः कर्मणि बुद्धीर्वा साधव त्वदारा-
भनयोग्यानि निष्पादय । येन त्वा त्वां
वयं समिधं परिचरितुं शकेमेत्येत-
दाशास्त्रहे । ते त्वयि आहुतं हविर्हवं
देवा इन्द्रादय अद्वित्त भक्षयन्ति ।
तन्मुखत्वालेपाम् । किं च त्वयमादित्यान्
आबहु अदितेवप्तान्यादित्याः लवं-
देवा उच्चन्ते । तान् आदित्यान्
इन्द्रादीत् हे अमे त्वम् आबहु हि पस्तात्
तानादित्यान् वयमुश्मसि । उत्तमः
कामयामहे उद्देश्यलेन इच्छाम इत्यर्थः ।
अमे सर्वे मा रिषामेति चतुर्व
तुल्यार्थः ॥ 4.

तान् आदित्यान् अदितेः पुत्रान् जा-
नाहय, हि पस्तात् तान् आदित्यान् वयम्
उद्देश्मसि कामयामहे उद्देश्यलेन इच्छामः ।
अमे सर्वे मा रिषाम वयं तव इति
चतुर्व तुल्यम् । शकेम हति “लिङ्गयाद्य-
ष्टह्” । समिधमिति तुमर्ये “शकि
णमुहूकमुलौ” हति कमुल् । साधया हति
“अन्येषामपि” हति दीर्घः । ते हति
सत्तम्यर्थं पश्य । आदित्यौ, तां हति “शीर्षा-
द्विं समानपादे” हति चतुर्व यतोः ।
“आहोऽटि निलम्” हत्यनुनासिकः ।
उद्देश्मसि हति चतुर्व कान्तौ, “यहि”
इत्यादिदूजेण सम्पारणम्, “इदन्तो
महि” हति इकायन्तवा ॥ 9.

These examples make it plain that the verbal agreement observable in them is due, not to mere accident, but to conscious borrowing; that is to say, they make it clear that either Gunavishnu has borrowed his explanations from Sayaṇa, or Sayaṇa has borrowed his from Gunavishnu. It is the opinion of Prof. Bhattacharya (*op. cit.*, Int., p. xxx) that the latter is the case, that the borrower is Sayaṇa, and that Gunavishnu lived about two hundred years before Sayaṇa;¹ and he has given the following reasons in support of that opinion:

(a) The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Paramēśvara Jha, in the introduction (p. 174) to the edition of Gunavishnu's *Chāndogya-maṭṭra-bhāṣya* published by him in Śaka 1828 at Darbhanga, has referred to a tradition which connects Gunavishnu with the court of King Ballālasena and his son Lakṣmīnāgasena. According to this tradition, Gunavishnu flourished in the first half

1. This opinion (*viz.*, that Gunavishnu is anterior to Sayaṇa) has been repeated, on the one hand, by Pandit Bhagavad Datta in his *Vaidika Vāśīmayaṅka Itihāsa*, Vol. I, Part I, and by others also; on the other hand, Pandit Dakṣinācaraya Bhattacharya has anticipated Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya by giving expression to the same opinion on p. iv of the introduction to his edition of Aniruddha's *Pitṛdāyītā* (no. 6 of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad Series, Calcutta).

of the 12th century A. D. and was about 200 years earlier than Sayana.

(b) Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, who lived in the first half of the 17th century A. D., has referred more than once to Guṇaviṣṇu and Aniruddha in such a manner as to suggest that the *Pitṛdayitū* of Aniruddha and the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu were written by them in execution of a common plan, the former dealing with the ritualistic application of mantras, and the latter with the explanation of their meaning. Compare for instance the passages *Aniruddha-līkhitō Guṇaviṣṇu-dhṛinḥ*; *Aniruddha-līkhitam Guṇaviṣṇu vydhyētam* and *teva līkhitam vydhyāta ca Guṇaviṣṇum* that occur in his *Dhārmikakarma-rahasya*. Aniruddha was the *guru* of King Ballālasena, and Guṇaviṣṇu adorned the court of that king as also that of his son Lakṣmaṇasena. Hence Guṇaviṣṇu must have been a junior contemporary of Aniruddha, and must have flourished in the first half of the 12th century A. D.

(c) Halāyudha, author of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, has said of himself in that work that he was a Māhādharmaśākyaka in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena. Many of the mantras that he cites and explains in that work are explained in the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu also; and in the case of more than a hundred mantras, the explanations of Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu are identical or nearly so. Now although Halāyudha does not anywhere mention the name of Guṇaviṣṇu, it is shown by the following considerations that he has borrowed his explanations from the latter:

i. While commenting on a mantra in the section on *Garbhāddhāna*, Halāyudha has said that it is omitted by some (*kaif cint nēdriyate*; p. 185 of T. Vidyānanda's edition of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*). Now this mantra does not, in fact, occur in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* commented on by Guṇaviṣṇu, and it is, therefore, very probable that the reference is to him.

ii. In connection with the particular reading of a mantra, Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati has said in his *Sāmaga-mantra-vyākhyāna*: *kva cil tu Guṇaviṣṇu-pustake chāudasaḥ aster adi-lopa its pāṭhah; na tu Halāyudhādi-śiṣṭa-parigrhītah*. "This reading of Guṇaviṣṇu has not been adopted by scholars like Halāyudha"; and this shows that he regards Guṇaviṣṇu as earlier than Halāyudha.

(d) There are references, implicit, however, and not explicit, to Guṇaviṣṇu in Sāyaṇa's commentary itself on the *Sāmaṇedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*. In his explanation of 1, 2, 18 and 2, 6, 1 of that work, Sāyaṇa has referred to the opinion of 'other commentator (s)' in the following words: *ke cit adur maṅgalaśc iti pāda-dvayaṇi kṛtvā yataś tāṁ maṅgalavatyo yoṣitah prādūr iti yojayanti* and *ke cij juhotiti pāṭhanti | tasmin pāṭke laukikotih| yaśmāj juhomi aśo varāṇi vṛṣe*. If one compares them with Guṇaviṣṇu's explanations of the same mantras (*Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* 3, 46 and 2, 25); *yataś maṅgalātīḥ maṅgalavatyo devatāḥ tāṁ māhyam adūḥ datīlavatyoḥ and aham hotā juhomi | yaḥ kaścid asmai...juhoti...asmai daddati | yaśmād evam aśo 'hāṇi varāṇi vṛṣe*, it becomes evident that it is Guṇaviṣṇu who is referred to by Sāyaṇa in these passages as *ke cit*.

These reasons, opines Prof. Bhattacharya, show conclusively that Guṇaviṣṇu was earlier than Sāyaṇa.

This opinion seems to me to be untenable since, as shown below, none of the above-mentioned reasons can bear examination:

(1) The tradition referred to by Pandit Parameśvara Jha is, by its very nature, incapable of proof or disproof; and one can give credence to it only if it is in accord with known facts. If it is in discord with such facts, it has to be rejected.

(2) The passages cited above from Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati's *Dhāraṇīka-karma-rahasya* do not indicate that Guṇaviṣṇu and Aniruddha wrote their works in execution of a common plan. On the other hand, it is evident that Rāmanātha is citing Aniruddha and Guṇaviṣṇu as authorities in support of the particular reading that he adopted of some mantras. This reading, he says, is that adopted by Aniruddha when citing the mantras, and by Guṇaviṣṇu in his *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*. The question of chronology is far from Rāmanātha's mind, and he would have employed the same words even if Aniruddha had lived later than Guṇaviṣṇu. What concerns him solely here is the fact that the reading adopted by him of certain mantras is identical with that adopted by Aniruddha when he cited them in his work and by Guṇaviṣṇu when he explained them in his.

Hence it is not right to infer from his above-cited words that he believed that 'Aniruddha and Guṇaviṣṇu wrote their respective works in execution of a common plan' and were

contemporaries. Such an inference, moreover, would be quite wide of the mark. The sections of Aniruddha's *Pitr-dayitā*, according to the *sūcī-patram* given in the Calcutta Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad edition of that work, deal respectively with *prātihṛtya*, *ścamona-vidhi*, *danta-kashtha-bhakṣaṇa-vidhi*, *sandhyā-vidhi*, *snānānuṣṭhāna-krama*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva-vidhi*, *paryaya-śrāddha-nuṣṭhāna-krama*, *dāna-māhūṣmya*, *preta-śrāddha*, *anubughaṭa-śrāddha*, *sapindikarana*, *śmṛti-saṅgrahika-śrāddha*, *nāndimukha-śrāddha*, *śara-puṭṭalaka-dāhei*, *asthi-saṅcayana*, *daśāha-kyiya* and *vṛṣotsarga*. The mantras contained in the eight sections of the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, on the other hand, are intended to be employed in *kuśandhika*, *udicaya-karman*, *navagrahahoma*, *vivāha*, *garbhādhāna*, *pūṇyavāna-simantonsuyana*, *loṣṭranti-homa*, *jālakarman*, *niṣkramanya*, *nāma-karana*, *purnsādhi-patiyo-karman*, *anna-prāśana*, *pntra-nūrdhhe-pa-grahaṇa*, *cldākaraya*, *samāvartana*, *upanayana*, *nava-gha-pra-veśa*, *sandhyā*, *snāna-pancarana*, *brahma-yajña*, *sātyārghya*, *bhagavat-pūjā*, *ūdityopasthāna*, *vaiśvadeva-karman*, *śrāddha*, *antyeṣṭi*, *asthidāna* and *ainā-bhejaya* respectively.

It can be seen from the above list of contents that the two works have only about a third of their matter in common; and in fact, of the mantras that are contained in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, less than one third only have been cited by Aniruddha in his work. On the other hand, there are about twenty mantras in the latter work that are not found in the former. Further, it must be noted that even in the parts that are common to both works there are slight differences discernible occasionally; thus, for instance, the mantra *mṛttike brahma-dattēśi...* cited by Aniruddha (p. 11) in the section on *snānānuṣṭhāna-krama* is not found in the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*.¹

The statement that Aniruddha's *Pitr-dayitā* and Gupaviśnu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* have been written on the same plan is thus nothing short of grotesque; and it is very improbable that

1. For the rest, it is certainly true that, in the sections that are common, both works follow the same plan. This however is due to the fact that both works, Aniruddha's *Pitr-dayitā* and the *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, are based on Gobhila's *Gṛhya-sūtra* and the *Chāndoga-pariśiṣṭa*. There is no need therefore to assume that Aniruddha and Gupaviśnu evolved a common plan and wrote their works in accordance therewith.

Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, who was well-acquainted with both works, held such an opinion. Even if one grants that he did do so, this opinion would be of interest from a historical standpoint only, and cannot be regarded as proof that these authors were contemporaries.

(3) It is indeed true that, as Prof. Bhattacharya has said, the explanations given by Halāyudha, in the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, of more than a hundred mantras agree very closely with those given by Guṇaviṣṇu in the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*. How close this agreement is, will become evident from the following four examples.¹

Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya.

5. 9: हे आपः हि वस्मात् युरं
मत्योभुवः स्व भवः सुखं तस्य भाविष्य-
त्यः भवथ ता तस्मात् नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे
अन्नाय दधातन खापयत । किं च
महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे
दर्शनीयाय अभिधातुं दधातन । अय-
मर्यः—हे आपः चतो यूरं सुखं ग्रापयथ
तस्मात् अस्मान् पैरिकेन अन्नायेन
आनुभिकेण च महारमणीयदर्शनेन पर-
ब्रह्मणा संयोजय न इत्यप्सु प्रार्थना । हिता
इति अस्तेल्लृ, मध्यमपुरुषबहु-
वचनम् । ‘पूर्वपदात्’ इति वस्त्रम् ।
‘अन्येवामनि हृष्टयते’ इति दीर्घः ।
ता इति तच्छब्दात् उर्होः ‘तुपा
सुखुक्’ इत्यादिना डाकेशः । दधातन इति
‘तत्तनतनयनाश्च’ इति तनवादेशः ।
रणाय इति रमणीयशब्दस्य रणादेशः ।

Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva

h. 7. 3; हे आपः हि वस्मात् युरं
मत्योभुवः भवः सुखं तस्य भुवः
भाविष्यत्यः स्व भवय सुखदायिन्यो भव-
येत्यर्थः । ता तस्मात् नो अस्मान् ऊर्जे
अन्नाय दधातन खापयत । किं च महे
महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे दर्शनीयाय
दधातनेति पूर्वोन्म सम्बन्धः । अय-
मर्यार्थः—हे आपः यस्मात् युरं सुखं ग्राप-
यथ तस्मात् कारणादस्मानैहिकेनायेन
आनुभिकेण महारमणीयदर्शनेन परम-
ब्रह्मणा संयोजयते अप्सु प्रार्थना । अभ
डा इति कृतमूर्धनस्यासोः लोकादेशः ।
मध्यमपुरुषबहुवचने तस्य प्रयोगः ।
दधातनेति दधातेल्लृष्टि मध्यमपुरुषबहु-
वचनस्य स्याने ‘तत्तनतनयनाश्च’ इति ।
तनवादेशः । ता इति तच्छब्दात् उर्होः
‘तुपा सुखुक्’ इति सुनेण आदादेशः । महते

1. Not having at hand T. Vidyānanda's edition of the Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva, I have in this paper made use of the Benares edition of that work published in Samvat 1941 and printed at the Vrajacandra Yantrālaya. This is not a critical edition; and there is no doubt, that, were one to be brought out, the agreement between the explanations of Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu would be found to be still more close than it is now.

पृष्ठोदरादित्याभ्वन्दति । चक्षसे इति
चक्षिकः तुमये असेन् ॥

इत्यत्य पदस्य लान्दस्त्वादकारत्कारयो-
लंपे सति महे श्रुति भवति । रमणीया-
भेत्यत्य मकार-ईकार-यकाराण । लोपा-
द्रणाचेति भवति । आपो हि इत्याकारः
संहितायो पञ्चमानः पदे इति पठ्यमान-
त्पात् न च्याङ्कतः ॥

1. 5: विष्णुः व्यापकः स भगवान्
इदं जगत् विचक्षमे आकान्तवान् । कथमाकान्तवान् । त्रेधा निवृथे पदम् ।
पृथिव्याम् आकाशे त्वर्गे च पदप्रवम्
अर्पितवान् इत्यर्थः । अस्य पांशुले
पांशुलुकायो भूमौ पदं समूढं सम्यक्
निविष्टम् । अयमर्थः—विष्णुभूम्याकाश-
स्वर्गात्मकं जगत् पदेनाकान्तवान् ।
तस्य पदं भूम्या सम्बहू निविष्टम् । एतेन
विष्णुपदवस्त्रपेन भूमिरतीव शुद्धेति सा
भूमिरहिम् उद्देन इत्यादिकं समाप्ता-
स्मतीति ॥

p. 24. a: विष्णुः भगवान् इदं
जगत् विचक्षमे विकान्तवानान्तवा-
नित्यर्थः । कथमाकान्तवान् । त्रेधा विः
प्रकारं पदं निवृथे निहितवान् । पृथि-
व्यामाकाशे त्वर्गे च पदप्रवमपित्का-
नित्यर्थः । अस्य विष्णोक्ततदं पांशुरे
समूढं पांशुरे पांशुरुके अर्पितवान् पृथि-
व्यामित्यर्थः । समूढं सम्बहूनिविष्टम् ।
अयमत्र वाक्यार्थः । विष्णुभूम्याकाश-
स्वर्गात्मकं जगत् पदेन विकान्तवान् । तस्य
पदं भूम्या सम्बहू सम्बद्धम् । एतेन विष्णु-
पदस्त्रपेन । भूमिरतीव शुद्धेति भूमैः
स्मृतिः ॥

2. 16: आपः नः असाकं शं
कल्पाण्यो भवन्तु । किम्भूताः । देवीः
देव्यः स्तुत्यादिविषयाः । किमर्थम् ।
अभिष्टुये उपचयार्थं पीतये पानाय च ।
किं च नः असाक् अभिसाक्तन्तु ।
किमर्थम् । शंयोः कल्पाण्योगाय । आपः
असाकम् उपचयाय पानाय कल्पाण-
संयोगाय च भवन्तु इत्याशंत्वावाच्यार्थः ।
शनिलेन पूर्वे प्रहत्येऽभिष्टु इति
तन्मनोऽयम् । देवीरिति ‘वाङ्नदति’
इति पूर्वस्वर्णः । अभिष्टुये इति ‘कृत्ये-
त्यै शब्दस्त्रूपायोः’ आभिष्टुः किं ।
‘स्त्वः प्रपूर्वस्त्वः’ इति योगविभागात् सम्य-
सारणम्, तादध्ये चतुर्थी । शंयोः इति
शब्दस्त्रूपायोः इत्यादिना युक्त् ।
चतुर्थ्यर्थे कही ॥

p. 25. b: हे आपः नोऽस्माकं शं
कल्पाण्यो भवन्तु । किम्भूताः । देवीः ।
देव्यः स्तुत्यादिविषयाः । किमर्थम् ।
अभिष्टुये उपचयार्थम् पीतये पानाय ।
किं च नः अभिसाक्तन्तु अस्मदभिसुखं
स्वपन्तु । किमर्थम् । शंयोः कल्पाणसंयोगाय ।
अयं वाक्यार्थः । आपोऽस्माकम्
उपचयाय पानाय कल्पाणसंयोगाय च
भवन्तु इत्याशंसा । तत्र देवीरिति प्रपूर्वा-
न्तुवच्चने ‘वा छन्दति’ इति विकल्पेन पूर्वे
संयोगादेशः । अभिष्टुय इति ‘कृत्ये स्त्वै
शब्दसंशात्योः’ इति अस्माकातोः ‘अभिष्टु-
पूर्वात् किंपि कृते ‘आदे च उपदेशोऽधिति’
इत्यात्मम् । स्त्वः प्रपूर्वस्त्वः इति योगविभा-
गात् सम्यसारणम् । तादध्ये चतुर्थी ।

शोरिति शंदाद्वात् 'कंशोन्मा॒ चमयुस्ति-
तुतयतः' इति मादर्थीयसुस्प्रत्येषु कृते
शंयुरिति पदम् । तदा 'वहुलं छन्दसि'
इति चतुर्थ्येषु पठयेकवचनम् । यदा तु
शनेश्वरपूजायामस्य विनियोगस्तदा अभिष्ठये
अपेक्षितफलावासये । यदा भावे तदा
पीतये पितॄणां पानायेति विशेषो दोद्यमः ॥

5. 12: एताः विसः अनुष्टुभः अष्ट-
मवर्णगिंद्वाः भाववृत्तैवताः अक्षमेघाव-
भृथे विनियुक्ताः । ऋतुं सत्यम् इति परं
ब्रह्म उच्यते । तथा च श्रुतिः—‘क्षात्र-
मेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म’ ‘सत्यं शानमनन्तं ब्रह्म’
इति । आसीत् इत्यथाहार्यम् । तदय-
मध्यः—ऋते च रत्यं च आसीत्
परब्रह्मात्रमासीत् । एतेन महाप्रलया-
वर्त्या प्रतिपादिता । महाप्रलयसमये केवलं
ब्रह्मात्रमासीत् इत्यर्थः । तत्वः महा-
प्रलयावस्थायामेव राज्यज्ञायत रागिः
समुत्तमा । सकलम् अध्यनारम्यमासी-
दित्यर्थः । तथा च लम्बिः—‘आसीदिव
तमोभूतमपश्चात्तमलक्षणम्’ इति । तत्वः प्रह-
यावसाने सद्यारभमसये तपसः अहृ-
वलात् समुद्रः अध्यज्ञायत । किम्भूतः ।
अर्णवः पानीयुक्तः, तकलवगतुत्यति-
निमित्तं जलराधीः उत्पत्त इत्यर्थः । तथा
च लम्बिः—‘अप एव सुर्जादौ तामु-
दीजमवास्तुजात्’ इति । किम्भूतात्पत्तः ।
अभीद्वात् । अभिर्वर्तोभावेन समृद्धात्
छम्भवत्ते । प्रलयसमये निरदर्शिति अद्वृ-
भवति ॥

p. 27. b: अत्र अद्वमर्णगिर्भाव-
इत्तो रेचतानुष्टुप् छन्दः । अक्षमेघा-
वभृथे विनियोगः । अस्य अद्वमर्ण-
मन्त्रस्य व्याख्यायो हृदि प्रकाम्पे जायते ।
यतः सर्वेदसारभूतोऽत्यन्तगुप्तक्षायं मन्त्रः ।
अस्य पदपाडमात्रं च नास्ति । आद्वान-
निरुक्तादिकमन्त्रस्य नास्ति । इत्यमेत-
दीयव्याख्यानुग्रुणं कम्प्युपायमाप्य यदे-
तस्य स्वकपोलमात्रैऽव्याख्यानमाचरणीयं
तदीतिशाहस्रम् । योगियाशब्दव्याप्तेन तु—
‘सत्यभूतात् पिण्डकिशस्युत्तिप्रलयं तथा ।
सुकेऽस्मिन् न्याहृतमेतत्तत्त्वमन्त्रार्थं एष
चै॥’^३ इति वचनात् सुष्ठुरितिप्रलयार्थेतास्य
प्रतिपादिता । पुण्यनहाभारतादिष्वपि तु
सुष्ठुरितिप्रलयप्रतिपादकार्थकमन्त्रमानाः
तमाचते । तेषां च अवणेनोरकीर्तिनेन
महाप्रलयाभः प्रतिपादितः । तदेतत्
सकलं वेदसारभूतस्य सुष्ठुरितिप्रलयप्रति-
पादकाधमर्णमन्त्रस्य । स्नानादिना
तथा प्राणिलिङ्गतं नानासुनिष्ठनप्रति-
पादितं फलभूषणसुपरिमेव । किं चा-
स्मिन् ग्रन्थे सकलकर्मकाण्डोचितमन्त्रव्या-
ख्यानरैव मुख्यत्वात् यद्यत्य तारभूतम-
न्त्रस्यैव व्याख्यानं न क्रियते तदात्य ग्रन्थस्य
साकृता न भवेदित्येतादशदोषमयमावैज
त्वप्रतिभानुरूपम् । एतन्मन्त्रव्याख्यानमैतत्

किष्टते । यथा । ज्ञातं च सत्यं चेति
परमं ब्रह्म उच्यते । तथा च श्रुतिः
स्मृतिर्थ । ‘ज्ञातमेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म’
‘सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म’ इति ।
अत्रासीदित्यज्ञाहार्यम् ॥ तेनायमर्थः । ज्ञातं
च सत्यं च परं ब्रह्म वासीत् । एतेन महा-
प्रलयावस्था प्रतिपादिता । महाप्रलयस्थमेव
केवलं परं ब्रह्ममात्रमासीदित्यर्थः । ततः
तदनन्तरं महाप्रलयावस्थायामेव रात्रि-
रजायत रात्रिः समुत्तमा सकलमन्धकार-
मयमासीदित्यर्थः । तथा च रस्तुतिः—
‘आसीदित् तमेभूतमग्रकातमलक्षणम्’
इति । ततोऽदनन्तरं महाप्रलयावस्थाने
सुष्ठुपारम्भस्थये तपसः अद्वात् ।
किम्भूतात् । अभीद्वात् तर्वतोभावेन
दीप्तत्वात् सर्वतोगतशृणिलब्धादित्यर्थः ।
एवं भूलादरशात् युनः समुद्रो अजायत ।
किम्भूतः समुद्रः । अर्णवः अर्णवः पानीये
तदस्यास्तीति अर्णवः पानीयसुकः समुद्रः
संज्ञात् इत्यर्थः । प्रथमतः लकलसुषु-
पिमित्रं जलराशिशत्पत्ति इत्यर्थः । तथा च
स्तुतिः ‘अप एव सहर्जादौ तामु वीर्य-
मवासृजत्’ इति ॥

These examples make it plain that here too there can be no question of accident, but that one of the two authors, Halāyudha and Guṇaviśnu, has borrowed from the other.

Prof. Bhattacharya, relying on the abovementioned tradition that Guṇaviśnu flourished in the reigns of Ballālasena and Lakṣmapasena, opines that Guṇaviśnu was earlier and that Halāyudha borrowed from him. Halāyudha's preliminary observations, however, cited in the fourth example given above, show clearly that his explanation of the mantra *rtañ ca satyanī ca...* is quite original, and that he had nothing at hand that could serve to guide him to its meaning except the śloka from Yogi-yājñavalkya cited by him. Since this explanation of Halāyudha is found in Guṇaviśnu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* also, it

follows that Guṇaviṣṇu has borrowed from Halāyudha the explanation of that mantra, and likewise of the hundred and odd mantras referred to above.¹ That is to say, it becomes clear that any connection which Guṇaviṣṇu may have had with the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena must have been subsequent to the time when Halāyudha wrote his *Brāhmaṇa-saṃskṛta*.

It must be mentioned here that Prof. Bhattacharyya seems to think that the preliminary observations referred to above of Halāyudha are mere claptrap, and that though he made use of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu, he did not, 'for some reason or other, acknowledge his indebtedness'. This latter, however, is not a correct statement; not only has Halāyudha not acknowledged any indebtedness to Guṇaviṣṇu, but he has definitely claimed that his explanation of the verse *śāṁ ca satyam ca...* is quite original, and that he is putting it forward with considerable diffidence. There are no grounds to brush aside all these definite statements as untruthful; at least, Prof. Bhattacharya has not advanced any, and, to my mind, it seems very improbable that a person like Halāyudha, who

1. This is made plain, moreover, by Guṇaviṣṇu's commentary on the verse *śāṁ no devīr abhiṣṭaye..* (*Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* 2, 16). The second pāda of this verse reads as *apo bhāvantu pitaye* in the VS, and hence in Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-saṃskṛta* also; and his explanation beginning with *he apah* is therefore, quite natural and unexceptionable. On the other hand, in the *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā* and hence in Guṇaviṣṇu's *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*, this pāda reads as *śāṁ no bhāvantu pitaye*. As the word *apah* is thus lacking in this reading, it is necessary for the commentator to point out in some manner that the verse is addressed to the Waters. Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation contains no observation regarding this matter; he has not even mentioned, as is usual with him, the *chandas*, *devāśād* and *tiniyoga* of the mantra but begins his explanation with the word *apah*. This abrupt beginning which is apt to bewilder the reader is shown, by a comparison with Halāyudha's explanation, to be merely a blind copy of it.

On instituting such a comparison, one will find that there is nothing in the commentary of Guṇaviṣṇu to indicate that the mantra he is explaining reads *śāṁ no bhāvantu pitaye* and not *apo bhāvantu pitaye* in pāda b; and this fact too shows plainly that Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation is borrowed and that of Halāyuddha, original. Contrast in this connection the *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā-bhāṣya* of Sāyaṇa on this mantra (I, 1, 3, 13), where he has duly explained the words *śāṁ nah* that occur in pāda b.

held the position of Mahādharma-mādhyakṣa in the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena, could utter untruths. Further, in stanzas 20, 21 of his introduction:

आसन् वा कृति सन्ति वा कृति कृति द्वामण्डले पण्डिता
 व्याख्याता मानिशालिनाथ मुगुडाचार्येण वेदाः परम् ।
 स्पष्टं तत्तदपीत्यनेन विदुषा विश्वश्रसिद्धैः पौरैः
 सन्ध्यादिविजकर्मसन्त्रवचसो व्याख्यानमेतत् कृतम् ॥
 आस्ते वाक्यलिङ्गिभोऽपि न पुमांस्तस्मात् परः साहसी
 यो वेदार्थविवेचनाय कुरुते सज्जं रसङ्गाननम् ।
 किं त्वस्मिन् मुरुदेन वर्तम् रचितं प्रागेव चेद्विद्यते
 व्याख्यानं कियदेकवेदवचसां तेनेदमारभ्यते ॥

we find Halāyudha acknowledging his indebtedness to Muḍugula's commentary on the Veda (*i. e.*, the White Yajurveda), and there is no reason to doubt that, in case he had made use of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of Gūṇavīśṇu, in connection with more than a hundred mantras, he would likewise have acknowledged his indebtedness to that author. Prof. Bhattacharya, it seems to me, has allowed himself to be influenced too much by the belief that the above-mentioned tradition is true, and has, therefore, failed to estimate justly the value of the preliminary observations referred to above.

I. It is not legitimate to infer from the passage cited above by Prof. Bhattacharya from the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* that Halāyudha is there referring to Gūṇavīśṇu. This passage, in the first place, is not found in the Benares edition of that work, and there is therefore reason to doubt its genuineness. Assuming, however, that it was written by Halāyudha, the reference there is, clearly, to other authors that had written *paddhatis* on the *grhya* ceremonies of White Yajurvedins. For, the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* is (though this is not mentioned by Halāyudha) intended for the use of White Yajurvedins, as becomes evident from the sūtras of Pāraskara and the mantras that are cited in it; and the epithet *kāś cit* used by Halāyudha in it refers naturally to other writers on the same subject, that is, to other writers belonging to the school of Pāraskara.¹ It is not

I. This is recognised by Prof. Bhattacharya also; see p. ix of his Introduction.

The mantra कृतं च सद्यं च does not occur in the VS, Śata, Br., or the Nirukta; and Halāyudha's complaint that the commentaries

proper to refer the epithet to writers on *grhya* ceremonies who, like Guṇaviṣṇu, belong to other schools like that of Āśvalāyana (*Rgveda*), Gobhila (*Sāmaveda*) or Āpastamba (*Black Yajurveda*). The mantra in question is not mentioned in the section on *garbhādhikāna* by Śīṅgānārya, Boppaṇa-bhaṭṭa and other writers of comparatively recent times on *grhya* ceremonies belonging to the school of Āpastamba, and if one were to employ Prof. Bhattacharya's argument in their case, one would have to infer that all these writers lived before about 1200 A. D.!

ii. The passage cited by Prof. Bhattacharya from the *Sāmaga-mantra-vyākhyāna* is corrupt. It speaks of the reading *chāndasah asteś adi-loṣah* being found in Guṇaviṣṇu's work and not being found in Halāyudha's work, while it is evident that what Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati has in his mind is the fact that there is a difference in the reading of the mantra,¹ between Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha,² Guṇaviṣṇu reading the verb with

on these texts could give no help to him in the interpretation of that mantra, is well-founded. Similarly his statement too that there is no *pada-pāṭha* on it is correct as Sākalya, in his *padapāṭha* of the *Rk-samhitā* has not given the *pada-pāṭha* of that hymn. The RV. commentaries of Skandasvāmin or Udgitha on the Tenth Mandala (at the end of which this hymn occurs) were, apparently unknown or inaccessible to Halāyudha.

1. This is shown by the use of the word *sīṣṭa*. What *sīṣṭas* care for is not the reading of explanatory comments on mantras, but the reading of the mantras themselves.

2. That is, between the *Mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu and Halāyudha's *Bṛhmaṇa-saṃvara*. It must always be borne in mind that the *Mantra-pāṭha* on which Guṇaviṣṇu has written a commentary was not compiled by him, but came into existence long before and was held in great repute at his time; see p. xvii of the above-mentioned introduction of Prof. Bhattacharya, who has also pointed out on p. xix that there existed, in fact, not one but many different *mantra-pāṭhas* for the use of *Sāmavedins*. If therefore, one wanted to refer to the particular reading of a mantra found in the *mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu, the most convenient way of doing so would be by using the words *Guṇaviṣṇu-pustaka-dhṛtih pāṭhah*, *Guṇaviṣṇuṇā dṛytih pāṭhah* or other similar words. The use therefore, by Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati of the words *kvacit tu Guṇaviṣṇu-pustaka-pāṭhah na tu Halāyudha-dī-sīṣṭa-parigṛhilah* should not,

elision of the initial *a*, and Halāyudha without such elision. And hence, it is not right, it seems to me, to base any conclusions on this passage. Prof. Bhattacharya, it will be noted, does not tell us in connection with what mantra this observation is made by Rāmanātha, and how that mantra is read by Guṇaviśnu and Halāyudha; and one wonders if this is due to other corruptions or inconsistencies contained in that passage. I may mention here that I have made a diligent search in the published edition of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* and have failed to discover in it the passage *chāndasāḥ uster ādi-lopaḥ* cited by Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati. Further, even if one grants that this writer believed that Halāyudha was later than Guṇaviśnu, that is no reason why we should not use our own judgment in the matter, but blindly follow him in that opinion.

(4) Prof. Bhattachārya's opinion that Sāyāna, in his commentary on the *Sāmavedīya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*, implicitly refers to Guṇaviśnu by the words *ke cū* is likewise erroneous. The commentator referred to by Sāyāna in his commentary on 1, 2, 18 of that work interprets the expression *adurmaṅgallī* as *maṅgalavatyo yositukh prāduḥ*; Guṇaviśnu, on the other hand, though he splits up that word into two, *aduḥ* and *maṅgaliḥ*, explains the latter as *maṅgalavatyo devatāḥ*; and it is thus clear that he is not the commentator referred to by Sāyāna. This is shown by the following instance also. Sāyāna, in his commentary on 2, 6, 13-14 of the above-mentioned work (—*Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha*, 4, 29-30]: *anuān vā eka-ecchandasym...*, which two mantras are, according to him, *anuadevatākā*, refers to the explanation of others in the following words: *ke cana anayor ādityo'pi devaeti bṛuvate | tasmīn pakṣe eka-chandasym ity aṣṭyām arthah | ekas tejasā ēcchādaka eka-chandas tatra bhāvam eka-ecchandasym annam iti tathā dvilīya-mantra virocana-sabdeva rocamāna āditya ucyate śiṣṭāṇi samānam*. According to Guṇaviśnu, the devatās of these two mantras are respectively Āditya and Virocana, and not *anu* and *Āditya*; and this too shows clearly that the commentator referred to as *ke cū* by Sāyāna is not Guṇaviśnu but some other writer.

even when one assumes that he is speaking of chronological sequence, be taken to indicate that he believed that Guṇaviśnu was earlier than Halāyudha, but that, in his belief, the *mantra-pāṭha* commented upon by Guṇaviśnu was anterior to Halāyudha.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that the reasons advanced by Prof. Bhattacharya in support of his opinion that *Gunaviṣṇu* was anterior to *Sāyāṇa* are all unsatisfactory and fail to establish that point; and the problem, did *Sāyāṇa* borrow his explanations from *Gunaviṣṇu* or *vice versa*, remains still unsolved.

In order to find a solution, let us first take stock of the facts known to us in connection with these two writers. (i) *Gunaviṣṇu*, we know, is mentioned by the Bengali writer Raghunandana who lived in the sixteenth century A. D. (see Prof. Bhattacharya's *Introduction*, p. xviii), and is, as shown above, posterior to Halāyudha who lived during the reign of King Lakṣmaṇasena. He lived, therefore, roughly speaking, between 1200 and 1500 A. D. (ii) He has written commentaries on the collections of mantras known as *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* and *Sāmavediya-mantra-brāhmaṇa*, that is to say, on about 500 mantras; and (iii) he has borrowed from Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvāstā* the explanations of more than a hundred mantras without even once mentioning Halāyudha's name.

II (i) Of *Sāyāṇa*, we know that he was the minister of Bukka I, Harihara I, and other Vijayanagara kings who ruled in the 14th century A. D.; and he is believed to have died in about 1386 A. D. (ii) He is the author of commentaries on many Vedic texts including the *R̥gveda-saṃhitā*, *Sāmaveda-saṃhitā*, *Atharva-veda-saṃhitā*¹, the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Āranyaka*, the *Vājasaneyā-saṃhitā* and *Sālapatha-brāhmaṇa* of the Kāṇva recension, the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda, the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* and *Āranyaka*, and of other works also. Of the Vedic texts, those belonging to the Yajurveda were first explained by him, and then, in order, those belonging to the *R̥gveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda*. I cite here the explanations of two mantras, *idam viṣṇur vī cakrame... and āpo hi sphū mayobhuvaḥ...* given by *Sāyāṇa* in these commentaries and also those given by other commentators earlier than and known to *Sāyāṇa* in their works:

1. There is room for serious doubt if the commentary on the *Atharvaveda-saṃhitā* was written by *Sāyāṇa*; see Lanman's introduction to Whitney's *Translation of the Atharvaveda*, p. xviii, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 7.

(a) इदं विष्णुर्विचकमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम् ।
समूद्र(वह)मस्य पांसुरे ॥

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on Ts. 1, 2, 13, 1: इदं विष्णुः विष्णुः व्यापी भगवान् विचकमे विभव्य कमते स्म । 'वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु कमः' इति कृचावासमनेपदम् । 'वै: पादयिहरणे' इति वा । कतिथा विचकम इलात आह—त्रेधा त्रिधा पदं पादं निदधे स्वापयामास पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि चेत्याधारभेदेन पदस्य त्रैविष्णम् । त्रीणि पदानीति यावत् । यथा 'त्रीणि पदा विचकमे' इति । 'एधाच' इत्येधापत्ययः । यस्मादेवं तस्मात् अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे पांसुमति पादे । रः मत्वर्थायः । यद्वा, सिद्धमादिलक्षणो लः । रल्योरेकत्वं स्मर्यते । पांसवो रजांसि लोका उच्यन्ते । तैः रजःकणकहैः तद्विति विष्णोः पदकमले समूढं सम्बयगृहं लेनैव समवस्थापितम् । किम् ? इदं विष्णुं यद्विचकमे । 'गतिरनन्तरः' इति गतेः प्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । अस्येति 'इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशतुदात्तः' इत्यक्षेत्रोऽशतुदात्तः । य इममर्थमकरान्त स विष्णुरुनेन होमेनेमेव यज्ञ समापयत्विति भावः । अपरा योजना—इदं विष्णुरेव स्वयं विचकमे विकमते यद्विधीनं विकमते गच्छति । 'छन्दसि लुक्ठब्लिटः' इति लिट् । विष्णोरेवेदं क्लमणं यद्विधीनस्येति यावत् । विष्णुर्विशेषयते । त्रेधा निदधे पदं तस्मात् अस्य द्विधीनस्य पांसुरे पांसुमति च मार्गे समूढं सम्बयगृहं प्रापितमिदमाज्यमस्तिवति । अन्ये पुनराहुः—इदं विष्णुं विष्णुः व्यापी आविलात्मा विचकमे विकमते विभव्य प्राप्नोति त्रेधा पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि च पदं निदधाति अग्निविषुतस्यांत्मना त्रिषु स्थानेषु पादन्वासं करोति । अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे त्वन्तरिक्षे वरपदं विष्णुद्वं तदेव समूढं सम्बूढं कारणानित्यत्वात् सर्वदा न दृश्यते यथेतरे ल्योतिषी सम्बगृह्यते दृष्ट्या । सोऽयमादित्य इदं यज्ञमनेन होमेन समापयत्विति ॥

Uvata on Vs. 5, 15: इदं विष्णुः । गात्रांश्च वैष्णवी । इदं जगत् विष्णुर्विचकमे विकान्तवान् । सर्वप्राणिनो हि भूतेन्द्रिय-सनोजीव-मावेनावशक्तीति विष्णुः । किं च । त्रेधा निदधे पदम् । पथते ज्ञायतेऽनेनेति पदम् । भूम्यन्तरिक्षसुलोकेषु अग्निवायुसूर्यरूपेण त्रिधा निहितवान् पदम् । किं च समूढमस्य पांसुरे । अस्यैव विष्णोरन्यत् पदान्तरं विज्ञानवना-नन्दमजमद्वैतमक्षरमित्येवंलक्षणं समूढम् अन्तर्हितमविज्ञानमकृतात्मभिः । पांसुरे । लुप्तोपममेतत् । पांसुल इव प्रदेशे निहितं न दृश्यते, तरसमूढ-

मिति द्रष्टव्यमिति वाक्यशेषः । तदुक्तम्—‘तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । दिवीव चक्षुरापाततम्’ इति ॥

Skandasvāmin on RV. 1, 22, 17: विष्णुस्तु भगवानसमद्गुर्ता वासुदेवः । स वामनचक्रधाना महावल्लि ब्रह्मन् । तत्काले प्रपञ्चं विकान्तः त्रिश्वानभेदेन निहितवान् । पदमात्मीयं पादं त्रिषु स्थानेषु कृतवान् । मुखि ले दिवि च इत्येके । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गथशिरसि इत्यन्ये । निर्गुणस्य परब्रह्मो गुणवर्णने विभ्रमनित लोकाः । न तचित्रम् । तच त्रिविधं [समूदं] सम्यक् ऊढं सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठापितम् अस्य विष्णोः पदं [पांसुरे] पांसुमर्तीव । पांसको यस्मिन् समीति नतुपि रपत्ययः । लुप्तोपमं च । यथा पांसुमति देशे सुप्रतिष्ठापितं तदृत् । अस्य स्वीयं वा पांसुः । एथिवी वा समारोहणं वा । तत्र यत् पदं विष्णोरसमद्गुर्तुः तत् समूदम् । विष्णुरादित्यो वा । इदं सर्वम् अहरहर्विचकमे । त्रेषा उदयगिरौ नभोमध्ये चास्तगिरौ च त्रिविधं सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठापितम् अस्य पदं पांसुरपदेशे इति । केवित्तु सम्पूर्वस्य महे रूपमिति । समूदं छलम्, न हृदयते । विष्णुरेव आदित्यरूपेण लोकान् प्रकाशयति । तस्य त्रैविधयं अन्वया वा । अप्मित्तुतादित्यास्मना भुवि ले विवि । एकमेवेदं व्योतिष्ठेषा विभक्तम् इति मूर्धन्वान् बक्षयति तत् । ‘तमू अकृष्णन् त्रेषा’ (RV. 10, 88, 10) इति । । तत्र यत् ले वैत्युतस्य पदं तच्छङ्गं नित्यं त दृश्यते ॥

Sāyana on TS. 1, 2, 13, 1: विष्णुस्त्रिविकमावतारं श्रुत्वा इदं विश्वं विभव्य कमते स्य । भूमावेकं पदम्, अन्तरिक्षे द्वितीयम्, दिवि तुरीय-गित्येवं त्रेषा पदं निदेवे । पांसको भूम्यादिलोकरूपा यस्य पदस्य सन्ति वत् पांसुरम् । अस्य विष्णोस्तस्मिन् पदे विश्वं समूदं सम्यगन्तर्भूतम् ॥

Sāyana's commentary on VS (Kāpva-sākhā) 5, 15: Identical with his explanation (above given) of TS. 1, 2, 13, 1.

Sāyana on Sata. Br. (Kāpva-sākhā.) 3, 5, 3, 13: इदं विश्वं विष्णुः त्रिविकमावतारवार्तार्वारी विचकमे विकान्तवान् । विकमणप्रकारमाह—त्रेषा त्रिप्रकारेण । त्रिषु स्थानेषु ज्ञित्यादितु पदे निदेवे स्यापितवान् । अस्य विष्णोः पांसुरे रजोयुक्ते पदे लोकत्रयं समूदं गृहीतं सन्मित्र-मासीदिवर्यः ॥

Sāyana on RV. 1, 22, 17: विष्णुस्त्रिविकमावतारवार्तार्वारी इदं प्रतीव-मानं सर्वं जगदुहित्य विचकमे । विशेषेण कमणं कृतवान् । तदा त्रेषा त्रिभिः प्रकारैः पदे निदेवे । स्वकीयं पादं प्रक्षिप्तवान् । अस्य

विष्णोः पांसुरे भूलियुरेऽपादस्थाने समूढमिदं सर्वं जगत् सम्यगन्त-
भूतम् । सेवमृक् यास्केनैवं व्याहवाला । विष्णुर्विशेषेवा॑ व्यज्ञोतेवा॑ ।
यदिवं किं च तद्विक्रमते विष्णुर्बेधा॒ निधत्ते पदं बेधाभावाच्य पृथिव्या-
मन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूर्णिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गच्छिरसीत्यौर्णवामः ।
समूलहमस्य पांसुरेऽन्वावनेऽन्तरिक्षे पदं न इश्यते ऽपि बोपमार्चे स्यात्
समूलहमस्य पांसुर इष पदं न हश्यत इति पांसवः पादैः सूयन्त
इति वा पत्राः शेरत इति वा पंसनीया भवन्तीति वा । इति ।
बेधा॑ । ‘एवाच’ इत्येवाच्यत्वयः । चितोऽन्वोवात्तः । समूलहम् ।
बहु प्रापणे । निष्टुरिक्षः । ‘चक्रिस्वपि’ इत्यादिना सम्प्रसारणम् । दत्य-
घत्वप्रत्यवद्वल्लोपदीर्घत्वानि । ‘गतिरनन्तरः’ इति गतेः प्रकृतिस्वरूपम् ।
अस्य । ‘इवमोऽन्वादेशो’ इत्यशनुवाच्यतः । प्रत्ययत्र मुप्वरेण । पांसुरे ।
‘नगापांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम्’ इति मत्वर्थ्यो रत्नत्वयः । प्रत्ययस्वरः ॥

Sāyāna's commentary on SV. I, 2, 11, 9: Identical with his above-given explanation of RV. I, 22, 17, but does not contain the matter beginning with बेधा॑ । ‘एवाच’ इत्येवाच्यत्वयः—प्रत्ययः.

Sāyāna's commentary on SV. II, 8, 2, 5, 1. Identical with his explanation of SV I, 2, 11, 9.

Sāyāna on AV. 7, 26, 4: विष्णुर्वर्ध्यपी भगवान् इदं विश्वं
विचक्षमे विकान्तवान् । कर्तव्या विचक्षमे इति तदाह—बेधा॑ पदा॑
पदानि निदधे स्थापयामास । ‘पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवि च विष्णुर्बामनो
भूत्वेमांहोकांश्चिभिः कर्मरभ्यजयत्’ इति श्रुतेः । अस्य विक्रममाणस्य
विष्णोः पांसुरे पांसुमति । रो मत्वर्थ्योः । पादे लोकत्रयं समूढं सम्यग्
उद्दं समवस्थापितं समाकुछं वा अभवत् । अत्र ‘विष्णुर्विशेषेवा॑ अओते-
वा॑ । यदिवं किं च तद्विक्रमते बेधा॒ निधत्ते पदं पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे
दिवीति शाकपूर्णिः’ इत्यादिनिरक्तमनुसन्धेयम् ॥

b. आपो हि छा॑ भवोमुवस्ता॑ न ऊर्जे॑ इथावन ।
महे॑ रणाच्य॑ चक्षसे॑ ॥

In respect of this mantra, Bhāṭṭa-Bhāskara's explanation on TS. 4, 1, 5, 1 is not available as his commentary on Kāṇḍa IV of the Taittirīya-samhitā is not published; likewise Skandasvāmin's explanation too on RV. 10, 9, 1, as his commentary on that Manḍala of the RV. is not yet published. Further, not having at hand the printed edition of Sāyāna's commentary on VS

(Kārya recension.) Ch. 11—20, I have not reproduced here his explanation of VS. 11, 50.

Bhatta-Bhāskara on TS. 5, 6, 1, 4: आपो हि ष्टाव्यस्तिक्षः 'विपाजसा' इत्यत्र (TV. 4, 1, 5) व्याख्याताः । आपः व्यापिकाः स्थ मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयित्यः ताः यूर्यं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे रसाय दधातन स्थापयत् ऊर्जे वा अस्मभ्य धत् महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे ज्ञानाय च ॥

Bhatta-Bhāskara on TV. 7, 4, 19, 4: एताश्वतस्तः 'विपाजसा' इत्यत्र व्याख्याताः । हे आपः यूर्यं आपो व्यापिकाः स्थ । मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयित्यः ताः यूर्यम् ऊर्जे अज्ञायां रसाय वा दधातन धारयत । महते रमणीयाय दर्शनीयाय ॥

Uvaja on VV. 11, 50: अष्टदेवतास्तिक्षो गायत्र्यः । आपो हि ष्टा मयोभुवः । द्वितीये पादे तच्छब्दश्रवणायद्युड्याहारः कर्तव्यः । हे आपः या यूर्यं मयोभुवः । मय इति सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयित्यः स्थ भवय सर्वप्राणिनाम् । लङ्घः परिपूर्तिकरो हिशब्दः । ता नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अज्ञाय दधातन स्थापयत । यथा ब्रह्म सर्वस्य भोग्यस्य भोक्तारो भवेत् तथा कुरुतेत्यमित्रायः । महते च रणाय रमणीयाय । चक्षुसे दर्शनाय । अस्मान् दधातनेत्यनुवर्तते । पतहुकं भवति । महत्य यद्दीनं परब्रह्मलक्षणं रमणीयं तदस्माकं कुरुतेति । अयता हिशब्दो यस्माद्येण कुत्वा व्याख्यायते । न हि वेदे मन्त्रमात्रत्याज्यानर्थक्यमित्यते सम्मेव साक्षि । आपो हि । हे आपः हि यस्मान्मयोभुवः । ता न ऊर्जे । ताः शब्दस्य पञ्चम्वां संनितिः । तस्माद्देवोरस्मान् अज्ञाय स्थापयत् । महते च रमणीयाय चक्षुसे दर्शनीयाय ॥

Haradatta on Apastamba mantra-pāṭha 2. 7. 13: अपो हि ष्टेति । हे आपः यूर्यं मयोभुवः स्थ मय इति सुखनाम सुखस्य भावयित्यः स्थ । हि प्रसिद्धौ । ता यूर्यं नः अस्मान् ऊर्जे अज्ञाय दधातन धत् अज्ञमस्मभ्य धत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे दर्शनाय दधातन ॥

Sāyana on TS. 4, 1, 5.1: हिशब्द एवकारायैः प्रसिद्धैर्थ्यौ वा । हे आपः यूर्यमेव मयोभुवः स्थ सुखस्य भावयित्यो भवत । लानपानादिहेतुत्वेन सुखोत्पादकत्वं प्रसिद्धम् । तास्ताहश्चो यूर्य नोऽस्मान्ऊर्जे रसाय भवदीयरसानुभवायै दधातन स्थापयत । किं च महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे दर्शनाय दधातन अस्मान् परतत्वसाक्षात्कारयोग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyana's commentary on TS. 5, 1, 4; TS. 7, 4, 19, 4, and TA. 4, 42, 4. } Identical with his explanation given above on TS. 4, 1, 5, 1.

Sāyana on Śata. Br. 6, 5, 1, 2: हे आपः आव्यते सर्वं कार्यं प्राणिनां याभिरित्यापः । आप्रेति॒ करणे कर्तृरि॒ वा किष्म्॑ । तत्संबोधनम्॑ । मयोभुवः । मय इति॒ सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयित्यः । स्थ । हि यस्मात् एवंभूता यूयं नः अस्मान् कर्जे अज्ञात्याय द्वितीयं स्थापयत । 'प्राप्ननप्रनथनाशः' इति॒ तस्य तनवादेत्यः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे वर्णनाय ज्ञानाय धर्तेति॒ ॥

Sāyana on RV. 10, 9, 1: हि यस्मात् कारणादापो या यूयं मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयित्यः स्थ भवथ तास्ताहृदयो यूयं नोऽस्मानूर्जे अज्ञात द्वितीयं धत्त । अज्ञप्राप्तियोग्यानस्मान् कुरुत, अज्ञमस्मैयं दत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे वर्णनाय सम्यग्ज्ञानाय च धत्त । अस्मान् सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रति॒ योग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyana on SV. II, 9, 3, 10, 1: हि यस्मात् कारणात् आपः या यूयं मयोभुवः सुखस्य भावयित्यः स्थ भवथ ता॒ ताहृदयो॒ यूयं नः॒ अस्मान् कर्जे॒ अज्ञात्याय॒ द्वितीयं धत्त । अज्ञप्राप्तियोग्यान् अस्मान् कुरुत । अज्ञमस्मैयं दत्तेत्यर्थः । महे महते रणाय रमणीयाय चक्षुसे वर्णनाय सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रति॒ योग्यान् कुरुतेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyana on AV. I, 5, 1: हे आपः यूयं हि यस्मात् कारणात् मयोभुवः । मय इति॒ सुखनाम । सुखस्य भावयित्यः स्थ भवथ । 'आपोमयः प्राणः' इति॒ श्रुतेः । अपामूष्मोर्गेन ग्राणस्यैषेहेतुत्वात् सुखसाधनमूलविविधाज्ञानुपभोग्यपदार्थं जनकत्वेन च सुखेहेतुत्वात् । अस्तेलंटि॒ मध्यमपुरुषवहुवचने अद्विद्वात् शपो लुक । 'सार्वाद्युक्तमपित्' इति॒ किङ्ग्रावात् 'असोरहोपः' इति॒ अकारलोपः । 'हि च' इति॒ निघातप्रतिषेधः । मयोभुव इति॒ मयइश्वदेवपदात् भवतेरन्तर्भावितप्यर्थात् किष्म् । 'ओः सुषि॑' इति॒ प्राप्तस्य चणः 'न भूसुषियोः' इति॒ प्रतिषेधः । 'गतिकारकोपपदात् कर॑' इति॒ कुदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वम् । तस्मात्ताः॒ तथाविधाः॒ यूयं नः॒ अस्मान्॒ अज्ञादिजनितसुखकामान् कर्जे॒ बलकराय अज्ञाय॒ तदुपभोगजनित्सुखायेत्यर्थः॒ । ...द्वितीयं सुखकर्त्त्रप्रदानेत अस्मान् पै॒ यत्तेत्यर्थः॒ । —अपि च महे॒ महते॒ । अच्छवद्वलोपः॒ छान्दसः॒ । यद्वा॒ । महपूजायामित्यस्मात्॒ किष्म् । महनोयाय पूजनीयाय॒ रणाय॒ रमणाय॒ विविधोपभोग्यपदार्थेषु॒ कीडनायेत्यर्थः॒ । रमतेर्भवि॒ स्वुट् । अन्त्यलोपः॒ छान्दसः॒ । तथा॒ चक्षुसे॒ वर्णनाय॒ । चिरकाळजीवनाभिमतसाक्षात्कारोयेत्यर्थः॒ । ...यद्वा॒ । महते॒

रणनीयाय शब्दनीयाय उपनिषदेकसमधिगम्याय चक्षुसे स्वात्मतो
निरविश्वायानन्वन्वद्वात्प्रस्तावसाक्षात्कारायेत्यर्थः ।...दधातनेति पूर्वेण संवन्धः ॥

It is evident from these passages that, in respect of the two mantras given above, none of the explanations of Sāyaṇa is identical with those of any of the earlier commentators mentioned above; and comparison shows that this observation holds good of all the other mantras in Aṣṭaka I of the R̄gveda (on which we have the commentary of Skandasvāmin), in chapters 1-10 of the Vājasaneyā-samhitā (on which we have the commentary of Uvāṭa), and in the Saṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka of the Taittirīya¹ (on which we have the commentary of Bhāṭṭa-Bhāskara). The total bulk of the mantras contained in these is, I compute, more than twenty-five times that of the mantras commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu.

The facts set forth above may be summed up as follows: Guṇaviṣṇu has written a commentary on about 500 mantras, and, in the case of about a fifth of them, has borrowed *in toto* the explanations given by Halāyudha in his Brāhmaṇa-saṃparasva without however, acknowledging his indebtedness, while Sāyaṇa who has written commentaries on Vedic mantras that, in bulk, exceed by more than twenty-five times that of the matter commented upon by Guṇaviṣṇu, has not, even in a single instance borrowed his explanations from any of the commentators whom we know to have been anterior to him. Not only that; Sāyaṇa has, in respect of innumerable mantras, disdained to make use of his own earlier explanation and taken the trouble to indite new ones.

It hence becomes obvious that Sāyaṇa's above-cited explanations of Sāmarāṇya-mantra-brāhmaṇa 2, 4, 2-4 cannot have

1. As already observed above, the edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary on Chaps. 11-20 of the VS. was not accessible to me.

On Kāṇḍa IV of the TS, Aṣṭaka II of the TBr, and on two prapāṭhakas of the TA, the commentary of Bhāṭṭa-Bhāskara is not yet published.

Further, I must also mention that the comparison I have made of the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bhāṭṭa-Bhāskara on the Taittirīya texts is not so minute as that I have made between his commentaries on the other two above-named texts and those of Uvāṭa and Skandasvāmin.

been borrowed by him, but are original; and since these explanations are found in Guṇaviśnu's *Chāndogya-mantra bhāṣya*, it follows that they must have been borrowed by Guṇaviśnu from Sāyāna.

This becomes evident, other considerations apart, from a comparison of Sāyāna's and Guṇaviśnu's explanation of these mantras; and in this connection, it must be borne in mind that this triplet of verses occurs in the R̥k-saṃhitā and Sāma-saṃhitā and has been there commented upon by Sāyāna and Skandasvāmin, and that the first of them occurs in the Sāma-saṃhitā, Atharvaveda-saṃhitā and Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha and has been explained by Sāyāna and Haradatta. I reproduce these explanations here:

Sāyāna on RV. 1; 94; 1, 4, 3. अहंते पूज्याय जातवेदसे जाताना-
मुत्पन्नानां वेदित्रे जातप्रजाय जातधनाय वा अप्रये मनीषया निश्चितया बुद्ध्या
इमं एतत्सूक्ष्मपं स्तोमे स्तोत्रं रथमिक यथा तक्षा रथं संस्करोति तथा संमहेम ।
सम्यक् पूजितं कुर्मः । अस्यामः संसदि संभजने नोऽस्माकं प्रसतिः प्रकृष्टा बुद्धिः
भद्रा हि कल्याणी समर्था लङ्घु । अतस्तया बुद्ध्या स्तुम इत्यर्थः । हे अग्ने तव
सर्वये अस्माकं त्वया सह सखित्वे सति वर्यं मा रिषाम । हिंसिता न भवाम ।
अस्मान् रक्षेत्यर्थः । अहंते । अहं पूजायाम् । 'अहः प्रशंसायाम्' इति छटः
शत्रावेशः । शपः पितॄवादनुदातत्वम् । शतुश्चादुपेशाहसार्थधातुकत्वरेण
धातुत्वरः शिष्यते । महेमा । मह पूजायाम् । रिषामा । रिष हिंसायाम् ।
त्वयेन शः । तव । 'युद्धवद्मदोऽङ्गसि' इत्याद्युद्धात्तत्वम् ॥

हे अग्ने त्वयागार्थम् इष्टम् इन्धनसाधनम् एकविद्विद्वार्तात्मकं समित्स-
मूहं भराम । संपाद्याम । उद्धनन्वरे ते तु उभ्यं हर्षीयि चक्षुरोढाशादीन्यज्ञानि
वयं कृणवाम करवाम । किं कुर्वन्तः । पर्वणा पर्वणा प्रतिपश्यमावृत्ताभ्यां
दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां चित्यन्तः त्वा प्रकापयन्तः । स त्वं जीवात्वे अस्माकं
जीवनौषधाय चिरकाळावस्थानाय चियः कर्माणि अभिहोत्रादीनि प्रतरं प्रकृष्टतरं
साधय निष्पादय । अन्वत् समानम् । चित्यन्तः । चिती संज्ञाने । संज्ञापूर्व-
कस्य विधेरनिडित्वालघुपञ्चगुणाभावः । पर्वणा पर्वणा । 'नित्यबीप्त्वयोः' इति
वीप्त्वायां द्विर्भावः । 'तस्य परमामेडितम्' इति परस्य आम्रेहितसंज्ञायाम्
'अनुदातं च' इत्यनुवाचत्वम् । प्रतरम् । उद्धनन्वात् प्रशन्दात् क्रियाप्रकर्ते
वर्तमानात् 'अमु च छन्दसि' इत्याद्युपत्ययः ॥

हे अग्ने त्वा त्वा समित्सं सम्यगिद्वं कर्तुं शकेम शक्ता भूयास्म । त्वं च
चियोऽस्मदीयानि दर्शपूर्णमासादीनि कर्माणि साधय निष्पादय । त्वया हि सर्वे

यत्ता निष्पादन्ते । यस्मात् त्वे त्वद्यमौ आहुतम् क्रतिविभः प्रक्षिप्तं चरुपुरो-
द्वाशादिकं हविः देवा अदन्ति भक्षयन्ति । तस्मात्त्वं साधयेत्यर्थः । अपि च त्वे
आदित्यानविते: पुत्रान् सर्वान् देवानावह अस्मद्बार्थमानय । तान् हीदानी-
मेव वयमुश्मलिं कामयामहे । अन्यत् पूर्ववत् । शकेम । शक्तुं शक्तीं ।
लिङ्गाणांशिष्यवः । अहुपदेशाङ्गसार्वातुकानुवातत्वेऽत्र एव स्वरः शिष्यते ।
समिधम् । चिह्नस्थी दीप्तौ । अस्मात्संपदादिलक्षणः कर्मणि क्रिप् । त्वे ।
‘सुधां सुलुकु’ इति सप्तम्येकवचनस्य शे आदेशः । उद्भविते । वश कान्तौ ।
इदन्तो मतिः । अदादित्याच्छपो लुकु । ‘प्रहित्या’ इत्यादिना संप्रसारणम् ॥

Sāyana's commentary on Sāmaveda-samhitā II, 7, 3, 1, 1-3:
Mostly identical with his above-cited explanation of RV. 1, 94, 1,
4, 3.

Skandasvāmin's commentary¹ on RV. 1, 2, 4, 1; 3; 4: इमं स्तोम-
महते जातवेदसे । तादर्थे एषा चतुर्थी । हतोमाहस्य जातप्रज्ञानस्य चाप्ते-
रथार्थ । रथभिव सम्महेम । संशब्दोऽत्र सम्यक्तायाम् । महिरपि सामर्थ्यात्
गत्वाऽन्तर्णीतपृथक्ष्य । यथा कश्चिद्विधे सम्यगमयत् तदत् सम्यगमय । मे-
मनीषया प्रज्ञया अस्माकं प्रज्ञयेव स्तोमसुकारयेमेतदाशास्महे इत्यर्थः ।
कस्मात् । उच्यते । भद्रा हि । हिशब्दो यस्मादर्थे । यस्मात् भद्रा नः । षष्ठीनिर्देश-
शादुपरीति वाक्यशेषः । सप्तम्यर्थे वा षष्ठी । अस्माकमुपरि अस्मासु
वा प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टानुप्रवातिमिका मतिः । अस्यामेः संसवि समायाम् ।
यस्माद्ये यज्ञादिसभास्वर्माकमनुप्राहक इत्यर्थः । परः पादः प्रलक्ष-
कृतत्वात् भिन्ने वाक्यम् । हे अप्ये सख्ये । देवानां मनुष्याणां च सुत्य-
स्तोतुसम्बन्धः सख्यम् । तस्मिन् । सप्तमीनिर्देशादृतमाना इति वाक्यशेषः ।
मा रिषाम मा हिसिद्धिं केनचित् वयम् । कस्य सख्ये । उच्यते । तत्र ॥

शकेम शक्तुयाम त्वा समिधम् । तुमर्थेऽयं कमुदः । समिन्वितुम् ।
साधयास्माकं विद्यः कर्मणि प्रज्ञा वा । किं च त्वे त्वद्य देवाः हविः अदन्ति
भक्षयन्ति । आहुते मर्यादिया हुतम् । त्वमादित्यानविते: पुत्रान् सर्वान्
देवान् यद्युपावह । तान् हि उद्भविते कामयामहे वयम् किं च अप्ये ॥

भराम । शुद्धोऽप्यर्थं भरतिराङ्गपूर्वीर्थं द्रष्टव्यः । आहराम । त्वदर्थ-
मिधम् कृष्णवाम । हर्वीषि ते चित्तयन्तः ज्ञातवन्तः । किम् । सामर्थ्याद्यज्ञकर्म
त्वन्माहात्म्यं वा । पर्वणा पर्वणा । सप्तम्यर्थे तृतीयैषा । पर्वणि पर्वणि ।
पौर्णमास्याममावास्याणां चेत्यर्थः । वयम् । किं च जीवात्वे । जीवातु-
र्जीविका तदर्थम् । प्रतरम् । कियाविशेषणमिदम् । प्रकृष्टतरं प्रवृद्धतरं
वा । साधयास्माकं विद्यः । किं च अग्नः ॥

1. With emendation of corruptions contained in Dr. Kunhan Raja's edition.

Haradatta on Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha 2, 7, 1: अथ समावर्त्तने समिदाधानम्—इमं स्तोमं इमां स्तुतिम् अहंते स्तुत्यर्हाय जातवेदसे जातधनाय जातप्रजाय वा संमहेम । महिः पूजायामन्यत्र, इह तु करोत्यर्थं संस्कारे वा द्रष्टव्यः । कर्तुं संस्कर्तुं वा शक्तुचाम भनीषया ख्या बुद्ध्या रथमिव यथा तद्वा रथं करोति गन्तुकामो वा यथा रथं संस्करोति तद्वत् । कि कारणमग्रेः स्तुतिः कियते । उच्यते । भद्रा हि हिशब्दे यत्मावित्यर्थं, यस्माद्भद्रा कस्याणो नः अस्माकं उपर्य अस्मात् वा प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा अनुप्रहारिमिका मतिः अस्य अग्रेः संसदि सभायां यज्ञाविसमात् अस्माकमनुप्राहक् इत्यर्थः । परः पादः प्रत्यक्षकृतत्वाद्विन्द्रियं चाक्षयम् । हे अग्रे तत्र सख्ये देवानां भनुष्वाणां च स्तुत्यस्तोहमावलक्षणं सख्यं तत्र वर्तमाना वयं मा रिषाम भा केन चिद्दीसध्मीहि ॥

Sāyana's explanation of SV. I, 1, 2, 7, 4: Identical with his explanation of SV. II, 7, 3, 1, 1 referred to above, except that the portion treating of grammar is here lacking.

Sāyana on AD. 20, 13, 3: अहंते पूज्याय । अहंः प्रशंसायामिति लटः शत्रादेशः । जातवेदसे जातप्रजाय जातधनाय वा जातानी उपज्ञानां वेदित्रे वा इमे इवानीं कियमाणं स्तोमं प्रतस्तोत्रं मनीषया निशिद्या बुद्ध्या संमहेम सम्प्रकृ पूजयेम निष्पादयेम । तत्र इष्टान्तः । रथमिव यथा रथं रथकारः अद्यफलकाध्यव्यवसंयोजनेन संस्करोति तद्वत् । महाबुभावस्याग्रेः स्तोमनिष्पादने अतिशयितया बुद्ध्या भवितव्यमिति प्राप्ते तस्मद्भावं दर्शयति । अस्य पूज्यस्याग्रेः संसदि संसदेन उपसक्तौ तद्विषये नः अस्माकं प्रमतिः प्रकृष्टा मतिः भद्रा हि कल्याणी खलु । अतः हे अग्रे तत्र सख्ये बन्धुभावे सति वयं स्तोतारो मा रिषाम हिंसिता न भवेत् ॥

As already observed above, we have not so far met with a single instance where Sāyana has borrowed *in toto* his explanation of a mantra from the work of an earlier commentator. Granting however, that SMBr. 2, 4, 2-4 are exceptions and that Prof. Bhattacharya is right in holding that Sāyana's explanations are borrowed from Guraviśnu, there must be some imperative reason to impel Sāyana not only to depart from his practice of writing his own explanation, but also to refrain from borrowing the explanations of Skandavāmin or from repeating here (as he has done in the case of Sāmañveda-samhitā II, 7, 3, 1, 1-3) his own explanation of the same verses in his commentary on the RV. This reason could only be that Sāyana thought Guraviśnu's explanation to be the best in every way, one that conveyed

the information required, neither more nor less, in the appropriate words.

This reason however, will not serve in this connection. For, as we have seen above, Sāyāṇa's explanation of SMBr. 2, 4, 2 contains a quotation from the *Rk-prātiśākhya* which is lacking in Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation of that mantra; and in case Sāyāṇa really borrowed his explanation from Guṇaviṣṇu, he must then have interpolated this quotation into that explanation. In other words, Sāyāṇa must have felt dissatisfied with Guṇaviṣṇu's explanation for the lengthening of the short *a* in *mahema* and *rīḍama*, and therefore, added the sūtra from the *Rk-prātiśākhya* to explain it. In that case, one asks one's self, why should Sāyāṇa have borrowed at all from Guṇaviṣṇu? or, if borrow he must, why did he not borrow the explanation of Skandasvāmin, or repeat here the explanations given by him of these mantras in his commentary on the RV? These questions cannot be answered satisfactorily; and the quotation from the *Rk-prātiśākhya* in Sāyāṇa's explanation of SMBr. 2, 4, 2 thus shows that the explanation is Sāyāṇa's own, and that it is Guṇaviṣṇu, who has borrowed it from Sāyāṇa. Sāyāṇa, as we know, was quite conversant with the *Rk-saṃhitā* and the literature connected therewith, and there is nothing unusual in his citing a sūtra from the *Rk-prātiśākhya* in the course of his explanation.

The words *pr̥ṣṭhyasya ṣaḍahasya ṣaṣṭhe'hani agni-mārute
bastre parisaṁtihane ca viniyogaḥ* too that occur in the beginning of Guṇaviṣṇu's commentary on the above triplet of verses, indicate likewise that the explanation of Guṇaviṣṇu is borrowed. In the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya* of that author, there are only two occasions when he mentions a *śrauta-viniyoga* as contrasted with a *smārtā-viniyoga*. His explanation of the hymn *r̥itam ca
satyam ca...*, containing the statement *asvamedhāvabhy the
viniyuktāḥ* is one,¹ and that of the verses in question (namely, *Chāndogya-mantra-pāṭha* 1, 7-9=SMBr. 2, 4, 2-4) is the other. The former explanation is, as shown above, borrowed from Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-saṃvara*; and since Guṇaviṣṇu's expla-

1. This hymn does not seem to be prescribed for use in the Asvamedha bathing by any writer on *śrauta* ritual. It is said by Gautama in his *Dharma-sūtra* (24, 10) that the recitation of this

nations of the other verses of the *Chāndogya-maṇtra-pāṭha* do not contain any reference to *śrauta* rites, one is justified in concluding that he knew nothing of them and that his explanations of the verses in question, with their reference to the *śāstra* on *prsthya ṣaḍaka*, are likewise borrowed.¹ As for Sāyana, we know from his commentaries on the RV and the Taittirīya texts that he was well acquainted with *śrauta* rites, and a reference to such a rite in his explanation furnishes no occasion for surprise.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that Prof. Bhattacharya's opinion that Sāyana borrowed his explanations from Gunaviśnu is untenable, and that, in fact, it is Gunaviśnu who has borrowed from Sāyana. Since the latter died, as said above, in about 1386 A.D., while Raghunandana who mentions Gunaviśnu lived in the 16th century A.D., we may conclude that Gunaviśnu flourished in about 1460 A.D.



hymn removes all sins and confers on one the same benefit as does participation in the purificatory bath (*avabhr̥tha*) of the Akvamedha, *sañcāravamedhāvabhr̥theno*. Halāyudha's words, *avavmedhāvabhr̥the vīāiyogaḥ* seem to refer to this statement of Gautama. Compare in this connection the preliminary observations of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara in his commentary on this hymn (TA. 6, 2, 45-47).

1. On p. xxxvi of his *Introduction*, Prof. Bhattacharya has observed, "Gunaviśnu has cited in his commentary a large number of passages from various works dealing with a variety of topics" and hence concluded that he was acquainted with the *Nighaṇṭu*, *Nirukta*, *Yogi-yājñavalkya*, *Narasīgha-purāṇa*, *Vīra-purāṇa*, etc. The explanations in which these quotations occur are all borrowed by Gunaviśnu either from Sāyana or from Halāyudha, and Prof. Bhattacharya's above belief is hence unfounded. The only thing that can be safely asserted in connection with Gunaviśnu is, that he was well-acquainted with Pāṇini's grammar.

A SHORT NOTE ON 'ASMĀKAM' IN SANSKRIT.

BY

P. S. Subrahmanyam Sasiri M.A., L.T., Ph. D.

Principal, Raja's College, Tiruvadri.

Prof. Brugmann says, "The form in 'ākam' is possibly the nom. acc. sing neut. although it is not easy to ascertain why this form was chosen for the genitive; but it is quite possible that 'asmākam' was originally adverbial with some meaning like 'on our side' 'by us'; then it may have had the attributive use with nouns, e.g. *asmākam gāyatrak'*, (Vol. III, part II, p. 396.)

But it may be said that, in expression like '*asmākam dhanam*', both the words may have been considered to have been in apposition. Since there is slight difference between 'our money' and 'money that is ours', the word '*asmākam*' may have been mistook for genitive. Then it may have been used along with words of all genders in all numbers. Such a change is seen in Tamil. The expression

avara...kayam (*Puranānūru*, 15) which originally meant 'wells which were theirs' is now taken to mean 'our wells', so that the word *avara* which was originally an *a:riṇai* plural participle noun put in apposition with '*kayam*' (*a:riṇai* plural noun) is now taken to be the genitive case of '*avar*'.¹

cf. अस्माकेन वृजनेनाजयेत् (RV. P 43, 10)

अस्माकेभिन्नैभेरत्रास्वर्जय (RV. VIII, 16, 12.)

अस्माकासो मुष्पवानो वृयं च (RV. VII, 78, 5.)

1. Though 'a' in '*avara*' is now taken to be the genitive case suffix, yet there is the restriction that words having it should govern only *a:riṇai* plural nouns. This clearly narrates its history.

A NOTE ON
THE DATING OF THE FRESCOES IN THE
BRHADISVARA TEMPLE AT TANJORE.

BY

S. PARAMASIVAN, M.A., B.Sc.

Archaeological Chemist, Government Museum, Madras.

The earlier paintings in the Brhadisvara temple at Tanjore form a distinct class by themselves. With the exception of a few traces in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram, they are the only known examples of Hindu paintings of the classical type extant in the south. In studying the continuity of tradition in the classical art of painting in India, dating is a problem of considerable importance. With the exception of Mr. Govindaswami¹ and Mr. O. C. Ganguly², nobody has made any attempt at this problem; and their arguments are inconclusive.

DATE OF THE LATER PAINTINGS

There are two layers³ of paintings in the inner shrine of the Brhadisvara temple—an earlier and a later one—which have been executed one over the other. The clue to the dating of the upper layer of painting is given by a painted inscription in Telugu—the language of the Nayaks of Tanjore—on the western wall of compartment⁴ No. 1 under some portraits, probably of kings. From a close study of the wall and of the technique of the painting process adopted on it, there is no doubt that the painted inscriptions and the paintings belong to the same period. The inscription runs thus:—

"Cevvappa Nayamdu Accutappa Nayamdu
Raghunatha Nayamdu Rāmabhadra Nayamdu
Vijayarāghava Nayamdu Vyaya . . . ram,

1. The frescoes in the Brhadisvara temple at Tanjore—Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol II 1933; p. 1.

2. Discovery of Chola frescoes in Tanjore—Indian Art and Letters 1935, New series, Vol IX, No 2, p. 86.

3. Mr. S. K. Govindaswami loc cit p 2 ff.

4. The passage surrounding the inner shrine and containing the frescoes are divided into 15 compartments.

Adineelodharmaya...ūātar - vī - a
Lakṣmāna - gāru."¹

In this inscription is mentioned the name of the last king of the Nayak dynasty of Tanjore—Vijayarāghava (1633-1673 A.D.)² who died in 1673 in a battle with Cokkanātha Nayak of Madura. The painting on this wall must, therefore, have been executed during the time of Vijayarāghava or subsequent to his death.

It was suggested to me by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma that, if the missing letters between " Vyaya " and " ram " are supplied it should read " Vyaya Saivavatsaram." According to Mr., L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's " Indian Ephemeris," Vyaya occurred in 1646-47 A. D. during the time of Vijayarāghava. It occurred again sixty years later, that is, in 1706-07 A. D. or about thirty-three years after the death of Vijayarāghava. From this it is clear that the paintings on this wall were executed either in 1646-47 A. D. or in 1706-07 A. D.

It is unlikely that the paintings came into existence during the Mahratta period, which began in 1674 A. D., because the Mahrattas would never have commemorated the dynasty, whose downfall was brought about by them. Further, there are some differences in style between the Nayak and the Mahratta paintings. From the point of view of the technique and style, all the paintings on the upper layer are of the same class. They may, therefore, be dated from the 17th century A. D.

These paintings have been painted over a layer of more beautiful and early paintings. It may be argued that Vijayarāghava, being a devout and rank Vaishnavite, painted the walls over again to cover the details of earlier Saivite scenes. Mr N. K. Venkatesan³ says, "While the first three Nayak kings held the balance between rival faiths in the state, the fourth king Vijayarāghava Nayak grew somehow to be a rank Vaishnavite⁴ and tra-

1. The inscription was deciphered by Mr T. N. Ramachandran of the Archaeological Survey of India.

2. "History of the Nayakas of by K. Sitaramya, Tanjore".

3. Govinda Dikṣita—Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol II, p. 2828.

4. This statement does not seem to be corroborated facts, especially in the light of the existence of Saivaite frescoes of his times.

tion says that this was the reason why the Nāyak rule came to an end with him, because he left off the evenness of temper so essential for a king, and became a partisan in his religious faith and hence in his public conduct as king." If this is true, it is strange that one finds at least as many Saivite figures on the Nāyak layer as on the earlier one. The only explanation that can be offered for the super-imposition of an earlier layer of painting by the later layer is that the walls were specially prepared from time to time especially during festivals and fresh paintings were executed thereon.

DATE OF THE EARLIER PAINTINGS

The clue to the dating of the earlier frescoes is given by the scenes from the life of Saint Sundara depicted on one of the panels of the eastern wall of compartment No.7. Śiva appears before the assembly gathered to attend the wedding of Sundara, whom He claims as His slave. He then leads the assembly and Sundara to a temple where He disappears. Sundara goes to Kailāsa, mounted on an elephant preceded by King Cēratnāg on horseback.

There are at least four important texts that treat of the life of Sundara. There is the "Patigourām Tirumurai" in "Tiruttonḍar Tiruvandādi", a Tamil work of the 10-11th century A.D. of Nambi Āṇḍar Nambi. Śekkījār, the minister of Kulottunga II (1133-1150 A.D.)¹ wrote a Tamil work called "Tiruttonḍar Purāṇam", generally known as "Periyapurāṇam". A Telugu work of 1190 A. D. entitled "Basavapurāṇam"² by Palkuriki Somanātha Kavi, also depicts the life of Sundara. This work is very important, because its author lived in the 12th century A.D., about the time of Śekkījār and should have been alive to the traditional account of the life of Sundara. A work in Sanskrit of uncertain date called "Agastiya Bhaktavilāsa"³ is also known. It

1. I am indebted to Prof K.A. Nilakanta Sastri for these dates.

2. Pandit Prabhakara Sastri of the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras drew my attention to this book and translated for me the life of Sundara from it.

3. Dr. V. Raghavan pointed out that there are two Bhaktavilāsas, viz., Agastiya Bhaktavilāsa and Upamanyu Bhaktavilāsa. Agastiya and Upamanyu figure as narrators in both.

treats of the life of many Saivite saints, Sundara among others. There are other texts in Kanarese¹ which, being later than the 12th century are not of great importance to the discussion here.

The journey of Sundara to Kailasa riding an elephant² preceded by king Cēramāṇ on horseback is depicted in the earlier frescoes and these details are given only in the Periyapurāṇam and in none of the other texts. This difference is not a matter of popular belief or tradition because, none of the other texts quoted above, mentions this fact. It may be taken that the story of Sundara's journey to Kailasa mounted on an elephant preceded by king Cēramāṇ emanated from Sēkkilār's imagination.³

As this scene, which is found nowhere else except in Sēkkilār's account, appears in the early paintings, it seems evident that it was based on Periyapurāṇam. As a minister and the most

Besides these, there are two more texts bearing on the lives of Saivite saints, viz., a section in the Skandopurāṇa and a section in Bhavisyottarapurāṇa (Mss in the Govt. Oriental MSS. library Madras). In the Sanskrit literature on the lives of Saivite saints, there are two versions of Sundara's story. While one version stops with his life at Tiruvārūr and makes no mention of Cēramāṇ or Sundara's journey to Kailasa on an elephant, the other (*Upamanyu*) deals with these incidents. There are other mutual differences also as well as differences from the Tamil literature on the Saints. But the evidences of these Sanskrit works having been produced under the influences of Tamil literature on the lives of saints are not wanting.

1. Aravattumūvara Purātana Caritre

Triśaṣṭipurātana Caritre by Karnātaka Kavičakravarti
Aravattumūru Purātana Saranara Caritre.

2. "Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy has suggested that the seated figure on the elephant may represent Rājarāja himself taking part in some ceremony connected with the initial installation of the shrine. Whether the figure represents the king or not, there is little doubt that the scene represents some important ceremony connected with the installation, as the position of this group in close proximity to a representation of the shrine, with a painted image of Natarāja in front of the temple."¹ O. C. Gangoly—loc cit p. 88. this identification is really strange.

3. Compare, "A careful study of the Periyapurāṇam reveals that details for which there is no warrant in Nambi Āpājār Nambi's short notes on the Saivite saints make their appearance for the first time in Sēkkilār's account, for ought we know, Sēkkilār was guided by his imagination and by popular belief".

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. *The Colas*, p. 18.

important officer of the state, Sēkkilār probably had important scenes from Periyapurānam specially executed by artists. It may, therefore, be safely presumed that the paintings were executed about the time of the Periyapurānam or immediately after. It is not unlikely that the portrait¹ of the king on the same wall may be that of Kulottunga II, the king under whom Sēkkilār worked as a minister.

The technique and the style of the painting of the scenes from Sundara's life are not the best of their kind in the earlier group of paintings. On this evidence it may be argued that the scenes from Sundara's life represent a degenerate type of Cola art and that the other frescoes were executed before the days of Kulottunga II. Even on the same wall there are paintings of Śiva in Yogāsana, Apsarasas dancing, an elephant, a horse, etc. which are some of the masterpieces of Cola art and bear a striking resemblance to the classical art of Ajanta and of the Pallavas and these are similar in technique and style to the strikingly beautiful paintings on the walls of compartments Nos. 10 and 11.

The technique of the fresco process requires that the paintings on a single wall should be executed at almost the same time. Otherwise, breaks will be evident by a clear line separating the old plaster or paint from the new. In fact, with many Italian frescoes, it has been possible to find out the extent of the work done each day by studying such breaks. No such line of demarcation could be found on this wall. Further, the plaster on this wall being very thin, the paintings should have been executed as rapidly as possible before the former dried up. Thus the entire subject-matter of the earlier frescoes on this wall must date from a single period. The difference in technique and style of some of the pictures is due to the fact that the artist embellished and paid greater attention to more sublime and larger subjects. Thus the earlier frescoes on this wall are works of the Cola period and date from the 12th century A.D., at the latest. It is probable that some of the pictures like that of Tripurāntaka which is a masterpiece of classical art, were executed about the same time. It seems improbable that these frescoes which are almost on adjacent walls should have been executed during the time of Rājarāja, that is, about two centuries earlier, as suggested by Mr. Govindaswamy and Mr. Gangoly in their articles already

1. Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy thinks that it probably represents Rājarāja. Mr. Govindaswamy loc cit pp 9.

referred to. We can safely say that the classical art of Tanjore continues down to the 12th century A. D.

The Cola paintings thus date from the 12th century A. D. and the Nāyak paintings from the 17th. The intervening period of about five centuries marks the decline and disappearance of the classical art in Tanjore and the rise of the folk art as represented by the Nāyak art.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE BHĀMATI (CATUSSUTRI). EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI AND C. KUNHAN RAJA. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The Bhāmati is one of the authoritative treatises of the Advaita School of philosophy. In fact, it is one of the classics for the student of Vedānta. To master the Bhāmati and have a grip of its Pāṅkti is the high water mark of consummate scholarship. The author, Vācaspati Miśra, is a scholar of prodigious learning—a Sarvatantrasvatantra—and the depth of his philosophic lore is unsurpassed. According to tradition, the work bears the name of the author's wife and the beautiful story about it mentioned in the introduction reveals the true qualities of an ancient Indian scholar. Vācaspati's prose, though written in a flowing and elegant Sanskrit style, is still the terse Śāstra style and is couched in the phraseology of Prācīna Tarka. It eludes often enough the grasp of the scholar. All Sanskrit philosophical treatises are written in a peculiar prose style which has even become stereotyped and standardised, so that the Pāṅkti-anvaya is itself a test of the mastery of the technique of the Śāstra and presents a great difficulty, especially to the modern student of Sanskrit. To translate such a technical work into English is a difficult task for scholars, even to those of the attainments of Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Dr. Kunhan Raja. Translation is a difficult art. While being literal and accurate, it must bring out fairly clearly the meaning of the original, and while preserving the genius of the original, it must not sacrifice the genius and idiom of the language of translation and be unintelligible to the reader unacquainted with the language of the original. In this few can succeed or have succeeded, and it is no disparagement to any scholar to be told that he has failed to achieve this ideal. The difficulty is increased tenfold when rendering a difficult philosophical work bristling with technical words into English.

For example, there is the well-known sentence,

तथा चेद् प्रद्वेष्टि ल्यापकषिक्षदोपलविषः

Stripped of all technicalities, the purport is this: The condition of all scientific enquiry is that the subject of enquiry must admit of doubt and that the enquiry must be fruitful of results, and there is no enquiry without doubt and utility. Hence there is no scope at all for scientific enquiry in the case of Brahman, in the absence doubt and utility. According to the well-known principle of logic, this is the difficulty that is encountered at the outset. For, the knowledge of Brahman is as daylight, and there is no wordly purpose also in such knowledge. The readers of the English translation will be unable to make out this meaning.

We congratulate the authors on this laudable attempt at translating one of the greatest philosophic works in Sanskrit and on, rendering thus, a great service to the philosophical world.

K. Balasubrahmanyam Aiyar.

THE MAHABHARATA, CONDENSED IN THE POETS' OWN WORDS BY
PANDIT A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR AND TRANSLATED INTO
ENGLISH BY V. RAGHAVAN, M. A., Ph. D. FOREWORD BY
SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Rs. 1—4—0.

The method of condensation has been and could be, applied to no other ancient literary heritage of India to greater purpose than to the Mahābhārata. It has been justly remarked of the Epic that the trend of its main story is incomprehensibly lost in the immense over-growth of extraneous matter. The kernel of the Mahābhārata, the story of the feud in the Kuru family, abounds in conspicuously human pictures. The kernel is so heavily overlaid with didactic and religious lore that the throbbing life of the main theme is almost stifled under the latter. The effort which is so wisely made in this book of piercing to the core, slashing off huge masses on the surface is needed for revivifying the epic-theme. There is now a growing class of educated Indians which is likely to ignore the great national epic, if its approach to it is not facilitated by brevity and comprehensibility. To that class this publication is bound to be specially useful. Nor is the condensation appallingly rigorous. If we take the Mahābhārata-kernel to consist of about 8000 stanzas, the condensation is $\frac{1}{4}$ of the original. In about a thousand, stanzas, the reader is enabled to go through the adventures of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, the panorama passing before the readers' vision with the arresting liveliness of a sensational drama.

The compressed presentation happily focusses at close succession the vivid dramatic situations and engages the human interest of the modern reader in it most effectively.

To facilitate its comprehension, an English Translation has been made part of this publication. The Translator's Note reveals how intelligently the translator has comprehended the nature of his task. Trusting to his good sense, the translator, with his intimate understanding of the geniuses of both the languages, has presented an even narrative, chaste and eminently readable.

The utility of the Index to the proper names occurring in the Text, dealing with two-hundred headings, and serving as a veritable 'who is who' can not be overrated. As a fitting conclusion to the book, the learned translator adds a note on the message of the Mahābhārata, in which he expatiates on the weighty pronouncement of Ānandvardhana that the final import of the great epic is the emphasis on the realisation of the vanity of earthly glories and the attainment of Śānti, leading to Mokṣa.

It is a modest statement of fact that the get up is attractive and the volume handy. We would like to point out to the publishers its need to use diacritical marks for the transliterated Sanskrit words. The price of the book is a marvel of cheapness.

Y. Mahalinga Sastri,

MADRAS UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SERIES, No. 9.

THE COLAS VOL. I (TO THE ACCESSION OF KULOTTUNGA I) BY
K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., PROFESSOR OF INDIAN
HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS.
1935—ANANDA PRESS, MADRAS. (PREFACE XII; CHAP-
TERS I TO XII PAGES 358; APPENDIX, ADDITIONAL NOTES
AND INDEX, PAGES 359 TO 718) (Price Rs. 8 or 12sh).

This volume is the first instalment, and a very substantial instalment full of promise, of a comprehensive and complete history of the Cōla epoch, which is admittedly the period when the constructive genius of the Tamil country rose to heights of achievement, at once superb and varied, in several spheres—government, art, religion and letters. In this volume, the learned author sets forth, in a systematic manner, all the trustworthy and noteworthy material concerning the history of the Cōlas, that could be gathered from diverse sources—the portions of the Saṅgam literature available in print, the religious and secular literature, mainly in Tamil, of the post-Saṅgam age, inscriptions and grants which throw light on Cōla history in a direct or indirect manner, the monuments and coins of the Cōla period, the records left by the Chinese, Arab and early European travellers and Muslim historians; and he evaluates the data furnished by these sources with a remarkably sound judgment and a highly commendable degree of level-headedness and deduces his conclusions generally with very great caution. In Chapters II and III, when dealing with the references and notices concerning the Cōlas in early Tamil literature and elsewhere, myths are discriminated from historical facts with a keen discernment; and by way of illustration, one may read the paragraphs dealing with the relation of the Moriyan (Mauryas) to the South Indian States and Karikāla's life and achievements, as also the foot-notes critically reviewing the opinions expressed by some writers on Māmūlagār's account of the Mauryan raid into the Tamil country and the schemes of Cōla genealogy suggested by Kanakasabhai and Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar. Chapter IV gives an interesting account of Government and social life in the Saṅgam age and Chapters V to XII take the

history up to the accession of Kulottunga I. The high level of historical judgment which Professor Nilakantha Sastri brings to bear on all his work is borne out amply by the unbiased and scholarly way in which he examines numerous literary and epigraphic records in the course of his historiographic expositions in Chapters IV to XII. None can miss the strikingly sound line of reasoning adopted by Professor Nilakantha Sastri in the two Notes which are appended to Chapter X; and in the former of these two notes, the well-known verse about Mahipāla, in the prologue to the Sanskrit drama *Candakauśika*, is correlated satisfactorily with all the historical facts ascertainable from epigraphic records about Mahipāla. By the way, it may be pointed out that Sanskrit scholars may be tempted, not unreasonably, to suggest a veiled pun even in the word 'Candragupta' occurring in the Sanskrit verse in the prologue of the '*Candakauśika*' and to point out that Mahipāla was also Candragupta in the sense that he was helped by Candra (the Candella king Harṣadeva) in regaining his throne.

If Professor Nilakantha Sastri could be said to have erred in anything in his work under review, it is on the side of caution. While there is absolutely no overstatement of his case on any point and generally there is no understatement, his historical cautiousness may be said to have deterred him from pushing certain evidences to their logical conclusion. For instance, in discussing the place of the *Maṇimēkhalai* in the history of Tamil Literature, in the concluding part of Chapter III, he states, with perfect fairness, the case for assigning a *post-Diṅnāga* date to the Tamil classic; but he seems to get himself entangled in one of the snares of over-cautiousness, viz., *compromise*, and asserts "with some confidence that the *Nyāya-pravesa* has been inserted in the *Maṇinekalai*". He fortifies his position by a reference to the presence of some pre-Diṅnāga elements of Nyāya and Sāṃkhya in Chapter XXIX of the *Maṇimēkhalai*. He thinks also that the clue to the real history of this chapter is to be found in Mr. Dhruva's remark "The author of the *Maṇimēkhalai* does not perceive that the last two *avayavas* can never be included in the *Dṛṣṭānta* as he ignorantly imagines," and arrives at the conclusion that the chapter in question should have undergone a clumsy remodelling at the hands of a pious student of Diṅnāga of the post-Śaṅgam age. In the first place, it must be observed here that the characteristically incisive logic of Professor Nilakantha Sastri would certainly

enable him to see that the presence of certain pre-Dīhnāga elements in the *Mayimekhala*, while they may affect the beginning of the anterior limit, cannot affect its end which has been ascertained from the admittedly undoubted presupposition of Dīhnāga's *Nyāyapraveśa*. Mr. Dhurva's remark about the absurdity of the statement in the *Mayimekhala* that Upanaya and Nigamana could be subsumed under *Dṛṣṭānta* is unfortunately the result of some misapprehension; and the fact is that some early Buddhist writers on *Nyāya*, presumably Dīhnāga and his contemporaries, actually contended that *Upanaya* and *Nigamana*, as recognised by Gautama and Vātsyāyana, might be subsumed under *dṛṣṭānta* and pointed attention has been drawn by Uddyotakara and Vācaspatsmiśra to this fact in the *anuyava* sections of the *Nyāyavārtika* and *Tātparyatikā*. Except in this single instance, Professor Nilakantha Sastri's historical shrewdness and caution have resulted almost invariably in safe and sound conclusions. How cautious Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri has been, even in his casual statements, may be seen, for instance, from an observation like this "The Cōjas, like the Pāṇḍyas, are spoken of in the plural in all the versions of the Aśokan edicts, and this has been held to imply that in Aśoka's time there were more than one Cōja and one Pāṇḍya king." In view of the fact that the main ground of this implication vanishes, the moment it is remembered that the plural form in Sanskrit would be the only correct form when the country (*janapada*) is referred to, the full significance of the saving phrase 'held to imply' put in by Professor K. A. N. Sastri can be easily appreciated.

Using to some extent the language of Wingfield-Stratford, it may be observed, in conclusion, that Professor K. A. Nilakantha Sastri has successfully steered clear of the *scylla* of the *free lance*, with his glibly prolific arguments from words and accidental resemblances, and the *Charybdis* of the orthodox historian, with his chilling and icy scepticism; and he has produced this scholarly substantial and perfectly reliable account of the Cōja history, on every page of which one could see ample evidence of the author's wealth of learning, ripe scholarship and sound historical judgment.

S. Kuppuswami Sastri.

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

सुरावाजिनयोरिद्धिः साम्राज्यं प्रकृतिः पश्चोः ।
तत्रापि ^१शूतमाभिक्षा ^२शूतैकप्रकृतिर्मेता ॥ २१६ ॥
अहीनसत्रप्रकृतिर्द्वावशाहो ज्यवस्थया ।
सपञ्चदशरात्रं तु सत्रं स्यात् कौण्डवायिनाम् ॥ २१७ ॥
॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

हविर्गणे^३ देवतायाः^४ साम्बेन प्रकृतिरित्थिः ।
सप्तरात्रे तु नानाहाँ प्रशृतिः सहस्राम्यतः ॥ २१८ ॥
पद्मावृतिरेव स्याचलारः 'पद्मा शति ।
^५संस्थागणक्षतोक्ष्यादी धर्माः स्युद्वावशाहिकाः ॥ २१९ ॥
शतोक्ष्यादिगतोक्ष्यादिष्वेकाहाद्वर्णसंक्रमः ।
माहा उत्पत्तिगायत्र्यो' शुहस्यतिसवे मताः ॥ २२० ॥
॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

द्विंहोमः कर्मनाम वैदिकानामपीच्यते ।
जुहोतिचोदनानां स्यादपूर्वा एव ते मताः ॥ २२१ ॥
॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥
॥ इत्यष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

1. A, T and G. शूत-
LV. शूत-

2. A, A¹ and LV. शूतैक-
T and G. शूते-
3. A and LV. हृविमेदे

4. A. देवतयोः

5. T. पद्मावृति

6. A¹. सहस्रागणा-
G. संस्थागणे

7. A. गायत्र्या

॥ अय नवमोऽन्धायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

प्रयोक्त्रपूर्वे^१ धर्मीणां स्याचैतत् सञ्जिपातिनाम् ।
निमित्तं चापि लेखां तदितोवं वर्णकथयम् ॥ २२२ ॥

प्रोक्षणं हन्तिपिण्ड्याः^२ सोमापूर्वेशः^३ वास्यमः ।
देवताकलसंबन्धस्ताभ्यां चा न प्रयुज्यते ॥ २२३ ॥

न देवतातिथिन्वाचायश्चेऽप्राघान्यमश्नुते^४ ।
श्रीहार्ष्यन्ते^५ प्रयुज्यन्ते प्रोक्षणप्रमुखान्यपि ॥ २२४ ॥

सोमोदूरेनापूर्वेण नोपांशुत्वं प्रयुज्यते ।
प्रणीतावान्यमोऽप्येवं नैषिकेन प्रयुज्यते ॥ २२५ ॥

प्रतीष्टकं नामिधमेः पहन्यन्तत्वं विनोक्तमम्^६ ।
आङ्ग्यामः सामिधेनीनां स्थानधर्मत्वशृङ्खाति ॥ २२६ ॥

आरम्भणीया नावृत्ताविष्टरावृत्तिमश्नुते^७ ।
११ नान्वाधानाङ्गमधेतीमौ न्यायी वृत्तिभाष्ययोः ॥ २२७ ॥

न निर्वापे सवित्रशिष्यूडणामूहः प्रवर्तते ।
तस्मिन्नियदं तद्वां समवेताभिधानतः ॥ २२८ ॥

तथा मांसपुरोहाशे चोह्यं शान्यपदं भवेत् ।
१२ इडामन्त्रे यज्ञपतेनोहः सत्रेषु^{१३} विद्यते ॥ २२९ ॥

1. G. प्रयोक्त्रपूर्वे

G. प्रतीष्टकं नामित

2. A. वीष्मिणां

10. G. तद्वे

3. A. पूर्वेश

11. T, A, A¹ and LV.

4. A¹. अर्धे

विष्टयारावृत्तिमश्नुते

5. A. मिष्ठते

12. T. नान्वाधानाङ्गमारम्भ-

6. T and A¹. रौश्य

पीया पुंतल्लु संस्कृतिः ।

7. T. न प्रोक्षणप्रमुखान्यपि

G. omits this artha.

8. A¹ omits this artha.

13. LV omits this and the

9. T. प्रतीष्टकं

next artha.

A. प्रतीष्टकं

14. A, A¹, G and LV. सत्रेषु

A¹. प्रतीष्टकं

विश्वते यजमानस्य सूक्ष्माके फलित्वतः ।
 आभेवसुष्टुप्प्राण्यायां नोहा हरिवदाव्यः ॥ २३० ॥

न तस्यै^१ शृणुभित्यादि वत्से चोहं प्रपञ्चते^२ ।
 पशुसामानविध्ये चेन्मेष्यां^३ लुप्तोऽध्रिशुभेत् ॥ २३१ ॥

नियतः स्थाविराशब्दः प्रगीतः स प्रयुक्षते ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

गीतयः सामशब्दोऽकाः स्यादूहत्य सकर्तुकः ॥ २३२ ॥

साम संस्कारकर्म स्यात्तद्वेत् प्रत्यूचं तुचे ।
 प्रगीयं^४ तत्समाख्येव रुद्धमुत्तरयोरिति ॥ २३३ ॥

त्रिशोकं^५ विषमत्वेऽपि त्रृश्लोभवतीति च ।
 त्रृहत्रूपन्तरे गेये प्रगाथककुमोर्मते ॥ २३४ ॥

प्रागाधिकत्रृहत्योश्च स्याद्यौधाजयरौरवम् ।
 प्रागाधिकानुष्ठुमोश्च इयाद्याश्वान्धीगवे मते ॥ २३५ ॥

द्वयोर्द्वयोः^६ प्रपञ्चनात्तद्वत्वं बाहुतेषु च ।
 नीतिभेदा विकल्पेरन् न^७ चर्क्षसामे उभे स्मृते^{१०} ॥ २३६ ॥

प्रगीतया^८ ओपस्थानं तानव्य^९ कतुषु स्मृतः ।
 साम्नां स्यादुत्तरासुह^{११} १४आयीभावविकारतः ॥ २३७ ॥

1. T. कृतं
2. A and A¹. अुतं
3. LV. शृणु
4. LV. प्रयोगं
5. G. रुद्धिरसर
6. T and A¹. विषयत्वे
7. LV omits this ardha.

8. G. प्रकथं
9. A. प्रगाधिकानुष्ठमश्च स्याच्छावा-
10. G. त्युतौ
11. LV. ओप-
12. LV. कतुषु
13. LV. उत्तरासुह
14. LV. आयीभाव
- A. आयीभाव
- A. A¹ and T. आयी-

स्तोभा अप्यतिदिवयेरन् विवर्णमधिकं तु ते ।
 ब्रीहादिस्थानमापन्नाः स्युर्नीवारनस्यावद्यः ॥ २३८ ॥
 परिधी गूप्यर्मासिः स्याज्ञियोजनसाधने ।
 शृतद्वाप्तेऽप्युद्ये प्रणीताकार्यमिष्यते ॥ २३९ ॥
 रथन्तरवृहद्गुर्माण्यथाषाढ़॑ व्यवस्थिताः ।
 कण्वे^२ समुचितास्ते वासंवादेन व्यवस्थिताः ॥ २४० ॥
 गोसषे तु लघुवस्यैव धर्माणां सामगत्वतः ।
 विकृतावतिवेशोऽस्ति नैव पार्वणहोमयोः ॥ २४१ ॥
 विभव्यैव प्रयोक्तव्यौ पर्वणोस्ती यथायथम् ।
 समिद्वाच्याः प्रयाजास्तु सुरारादुपकारकाः ॥ २४२ ॥
 || इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

|| अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥
 द्रव्यवेषतमूळं स्यात्तथा^१ द्रव्यविशेषणम् ।
 सूपस्य लौकिके^२ स्पर्शे प्रायश्चित्तमुदीरितम् ॥ २४३ ॥
 द्वाषप्यूहौ द्विपश्चुके प्रयोगे^३ पाशमन्त्रकौ ।
 पाशानिवेष मन्त्रोऽपि निवेशं प्रकृतौ भजेत्^४ ॥ २४४ ॥
 प्रकृतौ पल्यनेकत्वे पल्नीमित्यस्य नोहता ।
 विकृतौ तदनेकत्वेऽप्यूहतास्य न विद्यते ॥ २४५ ॥
 तथोक्त्योक्तैरकविधे प्रास्मा इत्यस्य नोहता ।
 श्रीहेः प्रतिनिधावूहो नीवारादौ न विद्यते ॥ २४६ ॥

1. G. यथावस्यं

7. A, A¹ and G. पाश2. A¹. अप्यै

8. A. मन्त्रं

3. LV and G. समुदिताः-

A¹. इति

4. T and A omit this artha.

9. A¹ omits this and the next5. A¹. द्वये

artha,

6. A. लौकिक-

10. G. omits this artha.

नोद्धाः स्तुः पश्चनेकत्वे संसर्गिद्वयवाचकाः ।
पत्र त्वभ्यसितत्प्रत्यमेकघेति पदं ब्रजेत् ॥ २४७ ॥

देवताद्वयमेव^१ स्यात् पश्चौ मेवपलिद्वयम् ।
तत्रैवचनान्तस्य नास्त्यूहो बहुदेवते ॥ २४८ ॥

देवतारूपमेवे तु तत्राप्यहः प्रवर्तते ॥

॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

^१वर्षकीणां पश्चनेकत्वे समस्य वचनं मतम् ॥ २४९ ॥

न्यायद्वयं वक्ष्यमाणं दुष्टीकाशामुदीरितम् ।
निषिद्धोऽपि चतुर्क्षिण्यन्मन्त्रः पश्चे प्रवर्तते ॥ २५० ॥

^१प्राकुलेऽशाविवहकीणां समर्थैव वचो नवेत् ।

^१प्राकुतस्यापि करणं समस्तप्रतिषेधतः ॥ २५१ ॥

उरुकेति वपावां स्यात् ^१प्रश्नसेहि प्रश्नस्त्वोः ।

इयेनमिलाविकं वचत्प्राकुतन्यस्य ^१प्रतिपादकम्^२ ॥ २५२ ॥

कृषीर्थे^३ नाप्रिहोत्रस्य^४ कालोद्वाननिभित्तकम् ।

तद्वात्तात्रियो^५ धार्ये न दर्शाम्बुदृतौ^६ मतुः ॥ २५३ ॥

प्रदेयधर्मः पश्चसि अपणार्थं न विच्छते ।

^१कर्तव्योऽभ्युदये स स्यात् ^१पश्चकामेष्टिगो न सः ॥ २५४ ॥

1. A. तत्राप्यम्बासि-

10. T. होत्रार्थकालौ द्वौ न

2. G. परमेव

11. G. धार्ये

3. A. क्रियाणां

12. G. दर्शाम्बुदृते

4. G. This ardha is read after
मतम् in verse 241.

A and A¹. दर्शार्थं भूतौ

5. T and A¹ omit this ardha.

13. G. कर्तव्योऽभ्युदयेष्टेतु यत्तदप्ता

6. LV. प्रश्नसेहि

सुप्रिणातः । पश्चकामेष्टिगतयोः

7. LV. कर्मास्य

न कर्तव्यस्तमोत्तु सः ॥ स्यात्

8. G. प्रतिपादनम्

पर्याप्तिकृते सर्वे [कुतोत्तमे]

9. T. दर्शार्थो

तदन्ताद्वाकृतोर्विधिः [ततो-

A and A¹. दर्शार्थ

विधिः] ॥

14. LV omits this pada.

भिन्नगे पवआदीनां सोमधर्मो न विद्यते ।
 अश्वमेघपशुस्तर्गे तदन्ताङ्गुरुत्तर्विधिः ॥ २५५ ॥
 आज्ज्वेन क्षेषमित्येव यागान्तरविधिभेदेत् ॥
 || इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥
 || इति नवमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥

|| अथ दशमोऽध्यायः ॥
 || प्रथमः पादः ॥
 अलिदेशः पदार्थानामुपकारमुखो^२ मतः^३ ॥ २५६ ॥
 कृष्णलेनावधातश्च विष्णोरावाहनं न च ।
 आरम्भणीया नाञ्जेषु दीक्षणीयाविकेषिषु^४ ॥ २५७ ॥
 नानुमत्यादिषु तथा नापि^५ स्वस्यां प्रब्रह्मते ।
 गूपाहुतिः खलेवास्यां नास्ति स्थाप्ताहुतिस्तथा ॥ २५८ ॥
 प्रयाजो व्यष्ट्यमाणानां भवेत् संस्कृतिरुचमः ।
 नाव्यभागौ पशुगतः पुरोडाशस्तु^६ संस्कृतिः ॥ २५९ ॥
 चहरोदनभेदः^७ स्यात् स्थाप्तामेव स पक्ष्यते ।
 तस्मिन् पेषः^८ संयवनं संवापस्तापनं तथा ॥ २६० ॥

T reads from here as follows:-

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| तद्वयेन हृषिष्यताम् । पशु- | 3. G. चतः; |
| कामेहिगतयोः न कर्तव्यल- | 4. T. प्रारम्भ- |
| योस्तु सः । पवआदी तथा सोम- | 5. A, A ² , T and L.V. कादिषु |
| संत्कारावैऽपि नास्ति सः ॥ | 6. T. स्वस्मिन्. |
| स्थाप्तर्विधिरुत्तर्गः तदङ्गा- | 7. T. वक्ष्य- |
| न्तर्लेपिर्विधिः | 8. G. आज्ज्वभागः; |
| 1. G omits this and the next | 9. T, A, A ² and L.V. पुरोडाशश्च |
| 2. T. रान्मुखो | 10. T. भेदेन स्थाप्ताल्पामेव पक्ष्यते |
| | 11. T. संयमनं |

उपधानं^१ संप्रयने शक्षणीकरणमाबना ।
 २अध्यूहनं प्रव्युषनं^३ व्युद्धत्यासादनं तथा ॥ २६१ ॥
 कर्तव्यत्वं न च भवेत् प्रयोजनविलोपतः ॥
 ॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥
 श्रुतत्वात्कृष्णोऽपाकः नास्त्युपस्तरणादिकम्^४ ॥ २६२ ॥
 ५कुरुभक्षणमत्यस्ति मक्षोपहृतयः सह ।
 ग्रहोतरेषां नो भक्षा ६भक्षस्तस्यापि कालतः ॥ २६३ ॥
 चतुर्थाङ्कुतिनिर्देशमपि तत्र न विच्छते ।
 ७ऋतिवगदानं^७ भूतिस्तेषां न हविःशेष भक्षणम् ॥ २६४ ॥
 तेषां न सत्रे वरणं नापि स्यात्तत्र वक्षिणा ।
 ८शमनीयो न सत्राङ्गं तत्कुरुः सत्रिणः पृथक् ॥ २६५ ॥
 संहृत्वकरणोऽपि स्युस्तदन्ये^९ तत्र ऋतिविजः ।
 १०गवादिवानं काम्बेष्टावहृष्टेकप्रयोजनम् ॥ २६६ ॥
 ११द्वेष्याद्य वानमप्येवमारिथयागस्तु जीवताम् ।
 लुम्बसे जपसंस्कारो शृतस्यैष भवेद्यदि ॥ २६७ ॥
 कर्तव्यमेष्य तत्रापि शुक्रान्दारमणादिकम् ।
 १२गुणकामास्तत्र न स्युः सदोमानादिसंब्रवाः ॥ २६८ ॥
 नायुराशास्त इत्याचा न च स्युर्हेतुकामनाः^{११} ।
 सवस्वारः समाप्तः स्यान्मूर्ते कर्मारिथवज्ञवत् ॥ २६९ ॥
 आयुराशास्त^{१२} इत्यादि तत्र स्याचाकदार्भेषम् ।
 श्रुतुयाज्याकृतिः सत्रेऽप्यहृष्टार्थत्वतो भवेत् ॥ २७० ॥

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|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. A. सप्रयनं | 7. A ¹ and T. इत्यै |
| 2. G. अध्यूहनं | 8. G. तदान्ये |
| 3. A. व्युष्ट्याः- | 9. T. and G. अस्तादि- |
| A ¹ and LV. विहृत्य | 10. G. द्वेष्याभिधानं |
| T. व्यत्याणा- | 11. T. कामतः |
| 4. G. प्रकारणादि द्व | A. कामना |
| 5. G. शृते | A ¹ . कामनम् |
| 6. G. भक्षो | 12. T, A and A ¹ . इत्येतत् |

निर्वापः पवमानेष्टौ गुणलोपाज्ञ १लुप्यते ।
 संख्यासुष्टिविरोधे स्थानिर्बोधे मुष्टिलोपनम् ॥ २७१ ॥
 गोरसाधारणैर्घेनुत्वाचैश्छान्तो निर्वर्तते ।
 साधारणैस्तु शेवाविशुद्धिनांसौ निर्वर्तते ॥ २७२ ॥
 निवृत्तिः^२ खदिरत्वादि खलेवास्यादिषु ब्रजेत् ।
 तस्यां न स्युश्छेषनाद्याः स्युत्तु^३ पर्युहणादयः ॥ २७३ ॥
 प्राकृतकमभेदैषिः^४ न पदार्थो निर्वर्तते ।
 न प्राकृतकमान्यत्वात् ५पदार्थोऽप्राकृतो भवेत्^६ ॥ २७४ ॥
 ॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥
 एकादशप्रवाजादौ गुणमात्रविभिर्भूतः ।
 हिरण्यगर्भमन्त्रः स्याकुत्तराधारसंशयः^७ ॥ २७५ ॥
 ८वत्करोदेगुणस्यैव विधिरासादनादिके ।
 ९अग्नौ दीक्षार्थमन्त्राणां प्राकृतैः स्यात् समुच्चयः ॥ २७६ ॥
 प्राकृत्या न समुच्चया पुनराधेयदिशिणा ।
 अन्याहार्यस्याग्रवणे बासोवस्तंनिर्वर्तकम् ॥ २७७ ॥
 तदन्वाहार्यधर्मः स्याकुत्ते पाको निर्वर्तते^{१०} ।
 नापि^{११} बाससि पाकः स्याज्ञ तयोरभिपारणम् ॥ २७८ ॥
 द्वादशं शतमिल्येषा संख्या गोमात्रसंशया^{१२} ।
 विभव्य दक्षिणा देया विभागाः स्यात् समाख्यया ॥ २७९ ॥

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|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. T and A ¹ . उभयोः | प्रकृते यूपकार्यादौ परिष्वादिः- |
| 2. A. विवृतिः | विधीयते । |
| 3. A and A ¹ . सूप | 8. T. उत्करादौ |
| 4. A. हि | 9. G. आदौ[अग्नौ] दीक्षाकुत्तीनां |
| 5. T. पदार्थोऽप्राकृतेष्विः | स्यात् प्राकृतीनां समुच्चयः |
| A ¹ . पदार्थोऽप्राकृतेष्विः पिणिः | 10. G. न विद्यते |
| 6. G. प्रकृतेष्विः | 11. T and A. बासोऽपि |
| 7. T adds the following ardha. | 12. G. संख्यया |

१ सर्वस्या दक्षिणाया स्याद्भुवि देनुभिर्बर्तिका ।
 एक पञ्च गवामेव कृत्स्नस्यापि विवर्तकम् ॥ २८० ॥
 प्राकाशादानमध्यर्थ्युभागस्यैव निवर्तकम् ॥
 २ इयावोऽथः ३ संकल्पस्यापि स्यात् सोमचमसस्तथा ॥ २८१ ॥
 वाक्यैवये तु ब्रह्मभागमात्रस्यैव निवर्तकः ।
 यजुर्युक्तस्तु नाथ्युभागस्य विनिवर्तकः ॥ २८२ ॥
 ॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

नक्षत्रेष्टुपहोमाद्या ५ न नारिष्ठादिवाधकाः ।
 कुशकार्ये विघानाद तेषां स्युर्बाधकाः शराः ॥ २८३ ॥
 स्याद्रथस्य तु शोषस्तु वाखको मन्त्रवर्भयोः ।
 वाहृस्पत्यादिभिर्नैव वाध्यन्ते प्राकृता प्रहाः ॥ २८४ ॥
 प्राजापलैन० दैक्षाद्या नानूयाजास्तथा नतैः ।
 पल्लीभिर्नोपगा १० गुल्गुल्वाद्यैन् नवनीतकम् ॥ २८५ ॥
 तार्यणानाहतं ११ न शोकाशीर्गच्छसुख्यकम् ।
 कौत्सकाणवजनित्रादिसामभिर्बाध्यते तु तत् ॥ २८६ ॥
 तदुद्धार्थं १२ तानि ऋर्युः स्वस्वसंख्यानुसारतः १३ ।
 आवापो राजसामादेः १४ उभयं पवमानगम् ॥ २८७ ॥

1. G. गवादि

9. G. पत्पास्तु

2. G. त्रिवल्तरः

10. T. गुल्वाद्यैः

3. G. निवर्तकः

A¹. गुल्गुल्वाद्यैः

4. A¹ and G. इयावाश्च

A². णाहतकं

5. LV. संकल्पस्यापि

G. इतं वस्त न शोका-

6. T. भावक्यवर्त्यैव

12. G. वास्ते

LV. मात्रस्येन

13. T adds this ardha :

7. T and A. निनिवर्तकम्

उद्धावावापकं सर्वे गायत्र्यादिगांते स्तम् ॥

G. पि निवर्तकः

14. T. शोदः

8. LV. न शारि-

G. आपो चा राजत्रयादेः

विधिस्थमन्यादिपदं विषयं निरमेष्वपि ।
 विधिस्थपदमेव स्यात् सौर्यादिविकुलिष्वपि ॥ २८८ ॥

अद्विः पावक ह्यादौ सगुणं तेषु तद्वेत् ।
 गुणे बुधन्वत्यदिः स्याज्ञाधानेष्व्याज्यमाग्नोः^१ ॥ २८९ ॥

अनूदन्व्यावनस्पत्य^२ ह्यादामुखा वनस्पती ।
 स्यातामवशुद्धावग्नीवकृणी श्वष्टक्तुणी ॥ २९० ॥

हिंद्रापिधान्याः सर्वेष्वप्यगुणाः श्वष्टक्तुवेत् ।
 अनूद्याजः श्वष्टकृतः तृतीयः संस्कृतिर्मतः ॥ २९१ ॥

वाऽज्यानुवाक्यावचनं न भजेदर्थकर्मताम् ।
 अहो मनोतामन्वस्य वायव्यादौ न विषयते ॥ २९२ ॥

स्वयोनावेष गेयं स्यात् सामिकाण्वरथन्तरम् ।
 गानमुत्तरयोस्तस्य^३ स्वयोन्युत्तरयोभेत् ॥ २९३ ॥

ग्रहान्यत्वेऽपि^४ विकृतिनेत्रं स्यात् स्तोत्रशब्दयोः ।
 ऊह आञ्च्यपश्चवस्य पूषदाल्ये न विषयते ॥ २९४ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

॥ अथ पञ्चमः पादः ॥

आदितः स्यादुपादानं त्रिकपालादिषु क्रमात् ।
 एकत्रिकक्षोर्मध्यंदिनमादे तृतीय मतः^५ ॥ २९५ ॥

तत्सिन् धूरांनमभ्याससंपादं तुच्छसंशयम्^६ ।
 दशरात्रोऽहर्गणेषु मध्यमः संप्रवर्तते ॥ २९६ ॥

नादोपादाननियमो मन्त्रेष्वाधूननादिषु ।
 १० सामागमेन संख्यायाः पूरणं स्तोमघुदिषु^७ ॥ २९७ ॥

1. T, A and A¹. गुणो बुधन्वत्तादि-
2. T, A and LV. आञ्च्यमाग्नोः
3. G. रूपयोः
4. T, A and A¹. भिघान्वा
5. G. सर्वेषु गुणाः
6. A. तद्वृत्
7. G. त्वेत्

8. A¹. दित आदे तृतीय मतः:
9. G. आदा तृतीय मतः:
10. A¹. स्तोमागमेन
11. A. स्तोत्रशुद्धिषु
- A¹. स्तोमविदिषु

भवेदेतस्य^१ तु बहिष्पवमानेष्वगागमः ।
 २आमेयोनामागमः स्यात् सामिधेनीविवृद्धिषु ॥ २९८ ॥

योऽशी प्रकृतावेष स्याद्राजन्यनिभित्तकः ।
 तद्भवः स्यादाप्रयणात् तृतीयसवने तु सः ॥ २९९ ॥

स राजन्यनिभित्तोऽपि भवेत् स खुतश्चकः ।
 सकलानां^३ हिरात्राणामुत्तरेऽहन्यं मतः ॥ ३०० ॥

अहीनस्य षतुर्भेऽहन्येकत्रैव भवेदसौ ।
 उत्कृष्टव्याविषुवति त्वहन्याप्रयणाप्रता ॥ ३०१ ॥

जगत्यां^४ साम यच्च स्यात्प्रगत्साम तदुच्यते ।
 उपाप्रवत्योरप्यत्वं^५ संभवादिषु^६ नो भवेत् ॥ ३०२ ॥

मात्रस्वस्वानं परेन्द्रवाचवः पाठ्याभिमते ।
 ७गुणकामाधिकारेऽपि भाष्यः स्वस्वानं एव सः ॥ ३०३ ॥

शुक्रमन्यप्रदादेस्तु विधौ स्यात्प्रतिकर्षणम्^८ ।
 तदैन्द्रवाचवात् पूर्वं कृच्यते सादनं तथा ॥ ३०४ ॥

^९ग्रहसादनकर्येऽपि प्रदानं नैव^{१०} कृच्यते ।
 ११व्यनीकायामादिलोऽहोरीनिभित्तोऽभत्ताविधिः ॥ ३०५ ॥

व्यूढो विकारोऽनीकानां गच्ये स्वस्थानशृद्धवः ।
 छन्दोऽवतिकमो व्यूढो मन्त्रैकविषयो मतः ॥ ३०६ ॥

॥ इति पञ्चमः पादः ॥

1. A¹ and G. देतादु

7. G. गुणाणाम्

2. G. आमेयानां-

8. A. A¹, T and LV. omit this
अद्धा,

3. G. सामान्येन

9. G. ग्रहणां न विकर्ये

4. A. A¹ and T. सामराच्

10. A. नाम

G. उदयवा

11. T. and LV. व्यणी

5. A. A¹ and T. अग्रत्वं

G. व्यनीकानामा-

6. A. A¹, G and T. संस्थादिषु

॥ अथ पष्ठः पादः ॥

बृहद्रथन्तरादीनां गानं कार्यं तृचे मतम् ।
कालार्थं एव संयोगो^१ वीक्षणं स्वर्हशोभयेत् ॥ ३०७ ॥

गठयादिपुष्टवद्वहे साम्बहं पुष्टसामनी ।
द्वावद्वाहैकादशिन्यां विभज्यालम्भ इष्यते ॥ ३०८ ॥

५ न पृष्ठवानां विचञ्जिति पृष्ठस्तोत्रे निवेशनम् ।
५ वैरूपसामेत्यादौ स्पान् पृष्ठ एव निवेशनत् ॥ ३०९ ॥

त्रिवृद्विष्टुविद्यादौ स्तोत्रीया नवके त्रिवृत्^२ ।
सामद्यं संस्कारौ पृष्ठस्तोत्रस्य साधनम् ॥ ३१० ॥

पद्वहे^३ प्रातिलोम्बेऽपि तदन्ते मधुमोजनम् ।
आश्रुतिः वडहाकृती न मञ्चाशस्य युज्यते^४ ॥ ३११ ॥

१० व्यपेतपदहाकृतौ तस्याप्याकृतिरापतेत् ।
सत्रेऽपि स्वान्मञ्चशनं मानसं नाहरन्तरम् ॥ ३१२ ॥

सत्राणि वहवः कुरुत्स एवात्मिज्यकारिणः ।
सत्रादीनावभिमलाकासित्याऽज्ञादिलक्षणौ ॥ ३१३ ॥

न भिन्ने^५ प्रलवहं पौष्टरीकेऽयुतसहस्रके^६ ।
विभज्य नयनं तेषां न सर्वाः स्युमनोरूपाः ॥ ३१४ ॥

मानोपहृत्योर्वासः स्यादीने न तु^७ भिद्यते ।
स्यादुपावहतेरेव काले तद्वाससो ग्रहः ॥ ३१५ ॥

॥ इति पष्ठः पादः ॥

1. A, A², and T. संवन्धो

8. A omits न मञ्चाशस्य

2. A. निष्ठाना

A² omits this and the next
पादा.

3. A¹. वृहस्तोत्रे

9. T. विद्यते

T. वृहस्तोत्रे

10. T. अव्यासे

4. T and G omit this ardha.

11. G. भिन्नात्

5. A¹. व्राहा एव

12. G. ऊकम्

6. A. नवकं मतम्

13. A, A² and T. ततु

7. T. वडहप्राति-

L.V. पदहन्त्राति-

॥ अथ सप्तमः पादः ॥

पश्चङ्गानि हर्षीयि स्युः १तन्यन्येकादशीव तु ।
 २नेत्रादेषात् स्विष्टकृदध्युभीहोत्रैदिकिया ॥ ३१६ ॥

वनिष्टुर्निहितः पात्रेऽप्याभीभ्रेडस्य^३ विकिया ।
 ४पैषासुवचनाभ्यां ह्यात् प्रशास्तुरपि भक्षणम् ॥ ३१७ ॥

स भक्षयेद्गागमेकं कुर्वन्^५ कार्यद्वीमपि ।
 ५भक्षः प्रतिप्रस्थातुर्न वपाशपणकारिणः ॥ ३१८ ॥

अपूर्वो गृहमेधीय आव्यभागविधानतः ।
 ६ततोऽधिकं यावदुकं स्यात् स्विष्टकृदिडादिकम् ॥ ३१९ ॥

स्विष्टकृत्परिसंख्यात्वे प्राशित्रादि निवारयेत्^६ ।
 ७प्रायणीवातिष्ठयोर्न विकल्पे^७ शंचिदान्तरे ॥ ३२० ॥

पूर्वाभ्यामेव तु तयोः शंचिदाभ्यां समापनम् ।
 ८सुरपूर्वा उपसदः स्त्रीवाचारविधानतः ॥ ३२१ ॥

अपूर्वोऽबुद्धोऽपि स्यादाभ्यभागविधानतः ।
 ९वृहशावादि नियतं यत्र तस्य पुनर्विधिः ॥ ३२२ ॥

प्राकृतानां विकल्पादिर्वः लुतैर्द्रव्यवैतरैः ।
 १०नायौदुम्बररूपेन खादिरस्य समुच्चयः ॥ ३२३ ॥

त्राघन्ते वैकृतः शुक्ला शीहयः प्राकृतान्यवत्^{११} ।
 ११सर्वेषु पञ्चावत्स्तवं पञ्चङ्गेषु प्रवर्तते ॥ ३२४ ॥

॥ इति सप्तमः पादः ॥

1. A and T. तन्यन्य-

4. G. तृप्ता

2. T. इड्यादेषात् स्विष्टकृत्त होत्रे

A. वैष्टस्य

३. विकिया

5. T. दीर्घं कारयेत्

A. इड्या...कृदञ्ज्ञि प्रवहयि-

6. G. तदिपा

किया

7. A. विकल्पः स्यात्

A^१. नेत्रादेषात् स्विष्टकृतीः

LV. त्रादि निवारयेत्

अप्युद्धिर्तु होतैव विकिया

8. T. G and A^१. प्राकृतान्यवत्,

3. T. हेतस्य

A. प्राकृतानुयात्

॥ अथाष्टमः पादः ॥

पर्युषासो न होतारं न सोम^१ इति तु सुतिः ।
 नातिरात्रे निषेधः स्यादनाहुतिरिति स्तुतिः ॥ ३२५ ॥

अभिवाच्या नाभिवाच्या इत्याद्यापि स्तुतिर्भवेत् ।
 अग्न्याध्ये सामगानां न ब्रह्मोति निषिद्धते ॥ ३२६ ॥

दीक्षितो न जुहोतीति पुरुषार्थो निषिद्धते ।
 पदेनाहृतनीयस्य सामान्यस्य निवर्तनम् ॥ ३२७ ॥

बैमृधादौ सामिषेनीसामदृशोपसंहृतिः ।
 त भवेद्विहोमेषु स्वाहाकारोपसंहृतिः ॥ ३२८ ॥

अग्न्यतिप्राण्योरस्ति विकृतावतिवेशनम् ।
 स्याद्विरेवावदातज्यं पुरोदाशादिकं हृतिः ॥ ३२९ ॥

चतुर्गृहीतं तु भवेद्वुपांशुब्लने हृतिः ।
 साज्ञात्ये न तिवति विधेः पूर्वभागो^२ भवेत् सुतिः^३ ॥ ३३० ॥

उपांशुयाजे स्यादाज्यं द्विवित्रीविविधाततः ।
 देवता तत्र तु भवेत्तान्निकेष्वेव^४ काष्ठन ॥ ३३१ ॥

तत्रापि स्युर्किल्पेन तिस्त्रो विष्णवादिदेवताः ।
 स पौर्णमास्यामेव स्यादपि प्राक्सोमद्यागतः ॥ ३३२ ॥

॥ इत्यष्टमः पादः ॥
 ॥ इति दशमोऽध्ययः ॥

॥ अर्थकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

आग्नेयादिकलं तन्त्रं भाष्येऽङ्गोपकृतिस्तथा ।
 सा मवेद्विलैरङ्गैः काम्याशुत्त्यादिकं^५ कलम् ॥ ३३३ ॥

1. T. होम

G omits this and the next

A. सोम

ardha.

2. T. भागे

5. T. and A. मान्दिकीषु च

3. G. विधिः द्रव्यं

A². मान्दिकेष्वेव

4. G omits this ardha.

6. LV. विकं

यावत्सलोदयं हन्ति सकृतसर्वाधेषु^१ त्वसौ ।
 सकृदङ्गानुषिदिः स्यात् व्रयः कार्याः^२ कपिञ्जलाः ॥ ३३४ ॥
 यावत्स्वं दोहने गाढो इष्टाङ्गानां तु तन्त्रता ।
^३सहै प्रदानं व्यवधेन लक्षणीवयोर्भवेत् ॥ ३३५ ॥
 || इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

स्वाहेषकालकृतृष्णामाप्नेयादिषु तन्त्रता ।
 बङ्गानां मुख्यदेशादाः स्युः प्रयोगाङ्गभावतः ॥ ३३६ ॥
 दृशेः च पूर्णमासे च वाङ्गानामस्ति तन्त्रता ।
 हविष्यव्यवरकल्पादामव्येकं^४ सङ्घभेदतः ॥ ३३७ ॥
 प्राजापत्ये पशुगणे भवेत्तन्त्रं वसाहुतिः^५ ।
 भवेयपाहुतिस्तन्त्रं यूपैकादशिनी गता ॥ ३३८ ॥
 अप्लवेवावस्थस्य स्यावङ्गानामव्यतुषिदिः ।
 अङ्गावृतिवेशभेदात् प्रयासेषु विहारयोः ॥ ३३९ ॥
 तन्त्रेणीवोपकुर्वन्तं^६ 'तयोर्बङ्गाद्यव्यस्तव्य' ।
^७आपरामिकहोमानामाहृतिः^७ कर्त्तुभेदतः ॥ ३४० ॥
 ब्रह्मसाम्नीतेष विधिरालभोत्कर्पणोचरः ।
 ब्रीहीनिति विधिस्त्वेषः स्यात् पश्चन्तरगोचरः ॥ ३४१ ॥
 अङ्गानां दशपेयाभिषेचनीयेच तन्त्रता ।
 निष्कासेनेति वाहण्या न प्रचारान्तरे विधिः ॥ ३४२ ॥
 निष्कास इतपि तथा नैव कर्मान्तरे विधिः ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

1. T and A¹. असौ

4. G. या अप्लेवं

2. T and A¹. तयोर्बङ्गाः;
L.V. वत्र कार्याः

5. G. adds भिजदेषु पशुषु
न सा तन्त्रतमशुते ।

3. T. सहै प्रदानं हविषोः

6. T. दृशोः

A. सदोऽहम्यवधानेन

7. T. तयोः

A¹. सकृत्यदानव्यव्येषः

8. L.V. अपरा-

G omits this and the next ardha. 9. G. मानो त्वाहुतिः

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

वेद्यादेवं चनान्मुख्यमिक्षकालादिसङ्गतिः ॥ ३४३ ॥
 सर्वेषु तन्त्रमाधारं सूषः सोमपशुत्रये ।
 तत्त्वद्वयाद्यपि तथा तन्त्रं स्यादपि तत्स्वरहः ॥ ३४४ ॥
 अहर्गणे विषाणामाः प्रासनं चरमेऽहनि ।
 अन्याहाने वाञ्छिसर्गे^१ नानावीजावहन्तिषु ॥ ३४५ ॥
 पश्चौ^२ पौरोडाशिके स्यादाहाने वाञ्छिसर्जनम् ।
 ब्रह्मानमात्रापवर्गे^३ भवेद्वाप्निविमोचनम् ॥ ३४६ ॥
^४साङ्गान्तेऽग्निविमोक्ते हि वार्तिके संप्रदर्शितः ।
 सुब्रह्मण्योपसत्काला तन्त्रेण स्यादहर्गणे ॥ ३४७ ॥
 भिद्येत सुद्याकाला^५ तु कालभेदेन सान्वहम् ।
^६प्रतिप्रयोगं देशादिभेदापेक्षा न चुक्षते^७ ॥ ३४८ ॥
 आन्तात्पात्राणि धायेन् प्रतिपत्तिविधानतः ।
 आरभ्य पवमानेष्टि भवत्येषां विधारणम्^९ ॥ ३४९ ॥
 उल्ल्लै सकलसोमानां प्राजापत्यप्रचारणम् ।
 उत्कृष्यन्ते पदोपेक्षाः शब्दा हरिवादादयः ॥ ३५० ॥
 ॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

अङ्गाच्चुतिः कर्तुभेदात् भिन्नदक्षिणकर्मणाम् ।
 राजसूये कर्तुभेदेऽवधिष्ठानं न भिद्यते ॥ ३५१ ॥
 भवत्यवेष्टी पञ्चानां हविषां भिन्नतन्त्रता ।
 कामाय तन्त्रभेदैः^{१०} स्यात्पवमानहविक्षये ॥ ३५२ ॥
 स्युद्धादशाहसुल्यानां चन्त्रं दीक्षोपसद्गुणाः^{११} ।

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. A. वाग्मि | LV. प्रतियोगमंशा |
| T and A ¹ . वाञ्छिसर्गो | 7. T, G, A, and A ² . गिर्घटे |
| 2. LV. शेषौ | 8. T. लेश विधारणा |
| 3. T. भवेत्ता | 9. A. स्यात्पवमान |
| 4. T, G and A ³ omit this ardha. | 10. T, G and A ⁴ . स्यात् |
| 5. LV. कालान् | 11. A. गुणः |
| 6. G. काले | |

सुव्याकालास्तु भिद्यन्ते सवनीयादिका गुणाः ॥ ३५३ ॥
 सुव्याकालायोपसत्काला नाहामभ्यासमृक्ष्यति^१ ।
 कुर्मीहृदयशूलाद्यासतन्त्रं स्तुः पाशुके रघे ॥ ३५४ ॥
 तथैव भिज्जैवले न कु जात्यन्तरे तथा ।
 कपालानि न तन्त्रं स्वरबेकाश्चपतिमहे ॥ ३५५ ॥
 सकृद्गवेद्गुरुनितमन्त्रः^२ नानवीजेषु भिद्यते ।
 निर्वापादिवहृदत्तेन तन्मन्त्रावृत्तिरिष्यते ॥ ३५६ ॥
 त्रिवेदिं प्रोक्षतीत्यादौ मन्त्र^३ आदौ सकृद्गवेन् ।
 कण्ठूनां यैगप्यत्तं तत् कृष्णैत्येति मनुः सकृत् ॥ ३५७ ॥
 सकृन्याऽये प्रबोधादावपि स्वप्रादिमन्त्रकः ।
 सकृत् प्रस्थानमन्त्रः स्याद्विभ्यं गमनेऽवपि ॥ ३५८ ॥
 भिद्यते प्रत्युपरबं मन्त्रः खननसाधनः ।
 हविष्कृद्गुरुमुखा भिद्यन्ते काळभेदवः ॥ ३५९ ॥
 ॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥
 ॥ इत्येकादशोऽत्यायः ॥

॥ अथ द्वादशोऽत्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

पश्वर्धानुष्टुतैरङ्गैः^४ पुरोडाशोऽस्त्वुपक्रिया ।
 तत्रावयभागौ कर्तव्यौ स्पातां तौ न पश्चौ चादि ॥ ३६० ॥
 सौमिकेष्टिषु वेदिः स्वात्सप्तात्राणि सु नेष्टिषु ।
 शामिकोऽधिः पुरोडाशश्चपणे त^५ प्रसव्यते ॥ ३६१ ॥
 शश्यं^६ प्राजहिते कौण्डपायिनामयने हविः ।
 सवनीयादिनिर्वापो न हविर्धानयोर्भवेत् ॥ ३६२ ॥

1. LV. कर्तव्यति
2. T. सकृद्गुरुनितमन्त्रोऽपि
- A. and A¹. सकृद्गवेत्तत्त्वं मन्त्रो
- L.V. सकृद्गवेद्गुरु-

3. G. आशानकृ-
4. G. पौरोडाशो
5. A. and LV. अवणेन
6. A. and A¹. शश्यं

प्रायणीयादिषु पृथग्नागरः सौमिकाङ्गेत् ।
 अध्वर्युमन्त्रा भिन्नाः स्युः प्राचासिकविहारयोः ॥ ३६३ ॥

इष्टिकमंसु सोमाङ्गेत्वन्वाधारं न विद्यते^१ ।
 व्रतोपायनमव्येवं सोमार्थेनैव सिद्धितः ॥ ३६४ ॥

अहणार्थान्वाहितिश्वेत्^२ दीक्षेष्ट्री सा परा^३ भवेत् ।
 सोमेष्टिषु न कर्तव्यं पत्नीसञ्जहनं तथा ॥ ३६५ ॥

आरण्यमुक्तिरत्येवं कर्तव्यं शेषभक्षणम् ।
 अन्वाहार्थं न दातव्यं भक्षणं तृत्विजां भवेत् ॥ ३६६ ॥

एतासु होतुर्वरणमदृष्टार्थत्वतो भवेत् ।
 प्रोक्षणं सङ्कुदेव स्याद्वातिष्ठेष्ट्यादिवर्हिषाम् ॥ ३६७ ॥

तस्यात्मरणसन्त्रः स्यादावर्त्यः पशुकर्मणि ।
 पशौ^४ सन्नाहहरणमन्त्रयोर्लोक्यनुष्ठितिः ॥ ३६८ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

अग्रयो गार्हपत्यादा वैदिकेष्वेव कर्मसु ।
 नियतः स्यात् पुरोडाशः सवनीयपशावपि ॥ ३६९ ॥

सवनीयेषु न पृथगाङ्गानं स्याद्विष्ट्वतः ।
 तथैव सौम्यचर्चादौ^५ पाशुकेनैव सिद्धितः ॥ ३७० ॥

निशीष्टी वशीसंयुक्तमङ्गजातं^६ प्रसव्यते ।
 नारम्भणीया विकृतौ प्रकृत्यां प्रसव्यते^७ ॥ ३७१ ॥

विरुद्धसमवाये स्याद्भूयसामनुरोधनम् ।
 तत्र तस्मतायां तु भवेन्मुख्यानुरोधनम् ॥ ३७२ ॥

1. T and A. भिन्नते
2. A. न्यादितिश्वेत्
3. A. न्यादितिश्वेत्
4. G. सान्नाह्य

5. A^१ omits this pāda.
6. A. विकृतौ
7. A^१ omits अङ्गजाते...सेवनम्
8. T. विकृत्यां
9. LV. त्र तवते

सुत्ताद्यां नियर्णं पर्वे द्विघमां परिधिर्भवेत् ।
 तत्र न स्युर्युपघमां ये^१ स्वधर्मंशिरोविनः ॥ ३७३ ॥
 *पशुतन्त्रान्वर्गतत्वात् सवनीयाः^२ प्रसक्षिणः ।
 विकृतिश्वेत् प्रकृत्येकतन्त्रा सा तन्त्रणी भवेत् ॥ ३७४ ॥
 वहिराश्रयणे कास्यभोजिन्यायेन पुष्पितम् ।
 शावापूर्थित्यत्यैव^३ स्यात्तावता नैव तन्त्रिता^४ ॥ ३७५ ॥
 ॥ इति द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥
 बलसत्त्वग्वाससोभिजकार्यत्वेन समुच्चयः ।
 अमौ देशपशोस्तन्त्रे *पश्चाङ्गिहविरुद्धकम् ॥ ३७६ ॥
 समुचिता उज्जुत्त्वाद्या व्रीशाचात्तु विकल्पिताः ।
 वैश्वानरी पायिकृतीत्याद्या अपि विकल्पिताः ॥ ३७७ ॥
 भिन्नस्तकलादिहोमानां वर्णादिषु समुच्चयः ।
 मन्त्राभ्यवनवर्माणां कर्मकालेषु नादरः ॥ ३७८ ॥
 कार्यं प्रयोगमन्त्राणां वस्त्ररेणैव कर्मसु ।
 ये पुच्छाङ्गाधीकास्तेषां भवति तत्त्वरः ॥ ३७९ ॥
 मन्त्राणामवसानेन कर्मादीन् सञ्जिपातयेत् ।
 समान एव न्यायोऽयं वसुधाराहृतीच्छपि ॥ ३८० ॥
 स्याद्वाधारेऽन्यदं न्यायो मन्त्रा आद्या विकल्पिताः ।
 चतुर्मिरभ्रिभित्यादौ भवेतेषां समुच्चयः ॥ ३८१ ॥
 *उद्ग्रहस्वेत्यादीनां न भवेत् समुच्चयः ।
 समुच्चयो भवेदेव क्रियमाणानुवादिनाम् ॥ ३८२ ॥
 ॥ इति तृतीयः पादः ॥

1. A. यंश

5. A and A¹. तत्त्वता

2. LV. पुरोडाशः

6. T. तत्र प्रसक्षि

3. A¹ omits पशुतन्त्र...विकृतिश्वेत्

7. A. तन्त्रे प्रसक्षि

4. T. स्वैतत्

7. T. उच्चमयेत्वर्थवादो लिङ्गात् तु

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

जपस्तुत्वादिमन्त्राणां धर्मार्थत्वात् समुच्चयः ।
याज्ञवानुषाक्षयासुगलमनेकं स्याद्विकल्पितम् ॥ ३८३ ॥

समुच्चयाः क्रयाः सोमे गुदयागे^१ समुच्चयः ।
अमन्त्राभेदे दक्षिणाः स्युः संख्यामेदाद्विकल्पिताः ॥ ३८४ ॥

जाघनीनां पशुगणे न भवेत् समुच्चयः ।
वाक्यादिना स्यात् काम्बेन ^२निलोक्यविनिवर्तनम् ॥ ३८५ ॥

काम्यो नाहवनीयः स्यादाधानादेवभावतः ।
तेषु नाधानसंस्कारो निलोक्यस्य न धारणम् ॥ ३८६ ॥

कश्चिदेव पदार्थानि कुर्याद्गृह्णु यश्चृष्टु ।
तेषु यः कश्चिदेव स्यात् सत्रे गृहप्रतिर्मतः ॥ ३८७ ॥

सर्वेऽपि सत्रे कुर्वन् राजा संस्कारानानादिकाश् ।
याज्ञमानात्मिक्ययोर्विप्रतिषेधे परं बली^३ ॥ ३८८ ॥

आत्मिक्यं नाश्चाणा एव कुर्याः सर्वेषु कर्मसु ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थः पादः ॥

इति श्रीमद्वैतविद्याचार्यश्रीरङ्गराजाध्वरिसूनोः
अप्यव्यदीक्षितस्य कृतौ चित्रपटे
ह्रादशोऽध्यायः



॥ चित्रपटः समाप्तः ॥

1. G. गुणयोगे

3. A. विलोक्यस्य निवर्तनम्

2. G. बाल्या-

4. A. बलम्

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